

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

OF

LORD CHESTERFIELD:

WITH

DR. MATY'S MEMOIRS OF HIS LORDSHIP'S LIFE.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

12 Sh

Ipsæ enim familiæ sua quasi ornamenta ac monumenta servabant, et ad usum, si quis ejusdem generis cecidisset, et ad memoriam laudum domesticarum, et ad illustrandam nobilitatem suam.

CICERO.

Memoirs from those of Philip de Comines, down to the innumerable ones in the reign of Lewis XIV, have been of great use, and thrown great light upon particular parts of History.

CHESTERFIELD.



F. Bartolozzi del. et sculp.

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MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

OF THE LATE

PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE,

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD: *R*

CONSISTING OF

LETTERS to his FRIENDS, never before printed,
And VARIOUS OTHER ARTICLES.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

MEMOIRS of his LIFE,

TENDING TO ILLUSTRATE

THE CIVIL, LITERARY, AND POLITICAL,

HISTORY OF HIS TIME.

By *M. MATY*, M. D.

LATE PRINCIPAL LIBRARIAN OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM,
AND SECRETARY TO THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

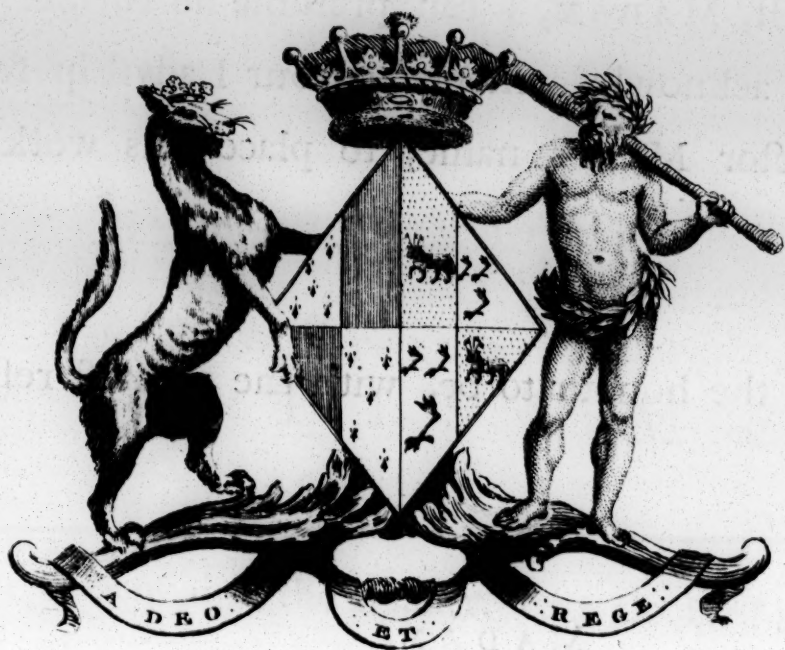
VOLUME THE FIRST.

L O N D O N:

Printed for EDWARD and CHARLES DILLY.

MDCCCLXXVII.





TO THE
COUNTRESS OF CHESTERFIELD,
&c. &c. &c.

M A D A M,

IT was Doctor MATY's ambition to present these two volumes to your Ladyship. Had he fortunately lived to put the finishing hand to them, your Ladyship might have expected from his pen an address worthy of your virtues and distinguished character.

For

For myself, MADAM, I can presume no further than to offer my humble acknowledgements to your Ladyship for permitting me, in Doctor MATY's name, to place this work under your patronage.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

MADAM,

Your Ladyship's most humble

and most obedient servant,

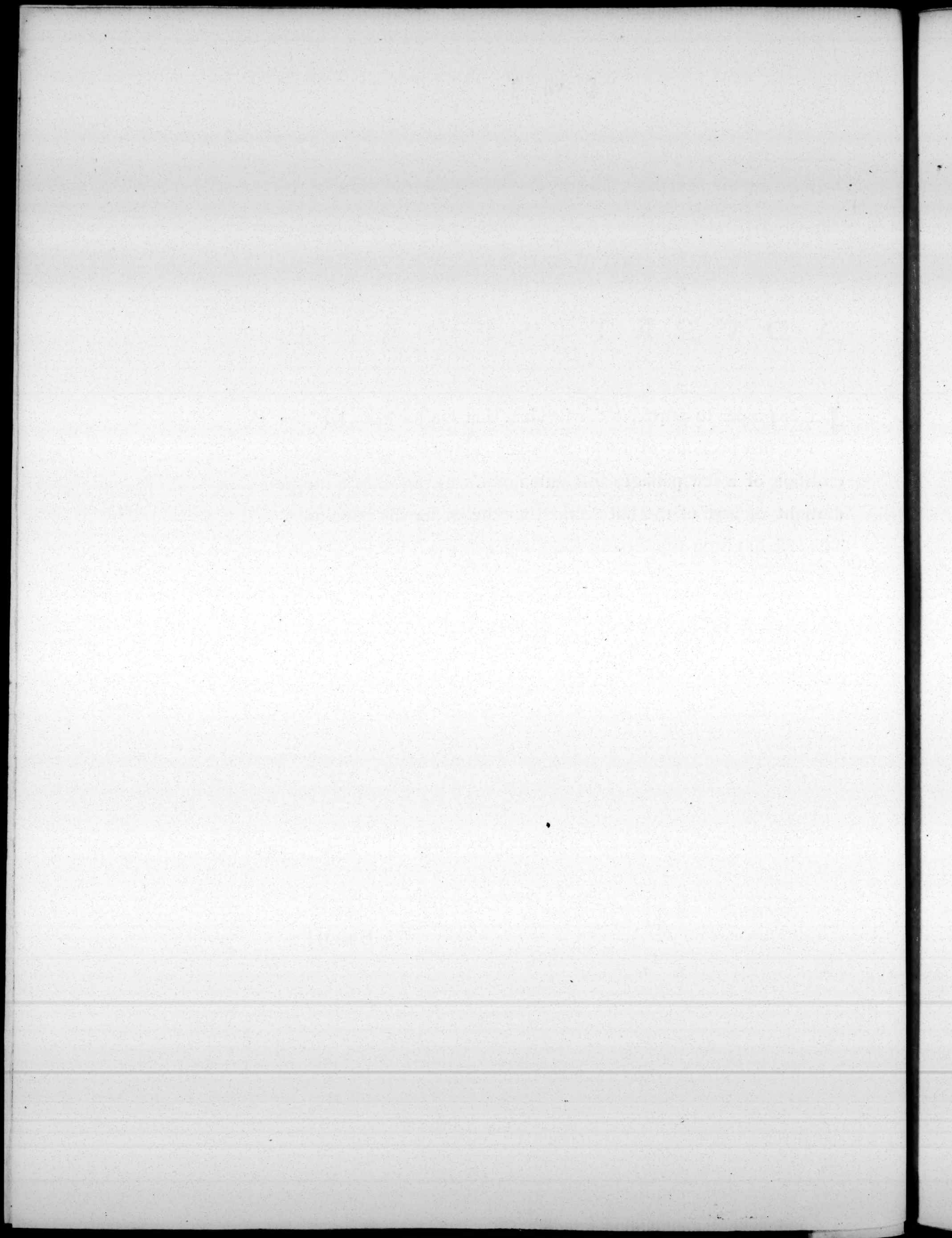
New Palace-Yard,
Feb. 1, 1777.

J. O. JUSTAMOND.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

IT is proper to acquaint the Reader, that Doctor Maty left the five first Sections of these Memoirs complete, excepting the omission of a few passages and some notes. He also left a rough draught of part of the last Section, and heads for the remainder. The rest has been supplied by the Editor.

MEMOIRS



M E M O I R S
O F
L O R D C H E S T E R F I E L D.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

IT hath long been a matter of doubt with me, whether the following undertaking will tend to promote the benefit of mankind, which ought to be the object of every writer: for, though it cannot be denied that history hath been chiefly founded on the authority of contemporary relations, and authentic memoirs, yet it is no less certain, and hath often been lamented [1], that nothing hath contributed more to render historical truth suspected, than disguised accounts of facts by interested statesmen, and false representations of characters and motives by prejudiced or mercenary writers.

The improper use, however, which hath been made of such materials cannot be urged as a sufficient reason for depriving

posterity of the advantages, which may be derived from them, even though they may be imperfect, and in some instances suspicious. It is from the number and variety of private memoirs, and the collision of opposite testimonies, that the judicious reader is enabled to strike out light, and find his way through that darkness and confusion, in which he is at first involved. Who cannot but regret that neither the Cato nor the Anti-Cato have been transmitted to us? Who doth not wish that Cæsar had lived to finish his commentaries, and that Pompey's sons, instead of fighting their father's cause, had employed themselves in writing his life? What a valuable legacy would Cicero have left us, if, instead of some of his philosophical works, he had written the memoirs of his own times! or how much would Tyro, to whom posterity is so much indebted for the preservation of his master's letters, have increased that obligation, if, from his own knowledge, he had connected and explained them! The life of Agricola, by his son in law Tacitus, is undoubtedly one of the most precious monuments of antiquity. Even remote biographers, such as Cornelius Nepos [2], Suetonius, and Plutarch, convey more exact representations of persons and facts, than compilers, or writers of abridgments, such as Paterculus, Florus, and Justin; and to come nearer to our times, the Comines, Sullys, Clarendons, and Ludlows, will continue to survive the Daniels, D'Orleans, Oldmixons, and Guthries.

But besides this general utility, which public history derives from private authorities, other advantages, perhaps no less important, may be obtained from them. It is from observing different individuals, that we may be enabled to draw the outlines of that extraordinary complicated being, man. The characteristics of any country or age must be deduced from the separate characters

acters of persons, who, however distinguishable in many respects, still preserve a family likeness. From the life of almost any one individual, but chiefly from the lives of such eminent men as seemed destined to enlighten or to adorn society, instructions may be drawn, suitable to every capacity, rank, age, or station. Young men aspiring to honors cannot be too assiduous in tracing the means by which they were obtained : by observing with what difficulty they were preserved, they will be apprised of their real value, estimate the risks of the purchase, and discover frequent disappointment in the possession.

It is not my province to determine, whether the memoirs of lord Chesterfield will answer these several purposes. I profess, however, they were written with that view. The transactions of the two last reigns are so recent, that general history cannot yet relate them with faithfulness and accuracy. But materials should now be collected, characters should be drawn, while they are still fresh in the memory of the living, and anecdotes should be snatched from the destructive hands of time and oblivion. I do not presume to have penetrated into the sanctuary, nor can I venture to promise that I shall always be able to come at the truth ; some secrets may, and perhaps must, remain for ever undisclosed. Those, who are possessed of better informations, may be incited by this attempt to communicate their knowledge to the public.

How happy should I have been, had this undertaking been honored with the earl's own assistance [3] ! Could my pen, as I wished, have been directed by his masterly hand, posterity would have received a work more worthy of its attention. As the difficulty of the task excited my industry, I have supposed

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

myself under the inspection of lord Chesterfield's piercing eye, commanded by him to speak the truth without malignancy and without extenuation; and as no man knew better than himself, that perfection or pure virtue never was the lot of humanity, I have not scrupled to add some shades to my colors.

To throw these memoirs into some kind of order, I have divided them into six parts, or sections. The first contains the early periods of lord Chesterfield's life, and extends to his twentieth year, or to the death of queen Anne. The second comprehends the detail of his conduct at court, in parliament, and in society, during the reign of George the First, ending in 1727. The third gives an account of his first embassy to Holland, and his return to England, to the time of his dismissal in 1733. The period of his opposition, during the twelve following years, is the subject of the fourth section. The fifth includes his lordship's second embassy to Holland; his administration in Ireland, and his share in public affairs as secretary of state, till the beginning of 1748 when he resigned; and the sixth and last represents his lordship in his retreat, enjoying the fruits of his experience and labors, bearing up against the infirmities of old age, and continuing to the last the favourite of the muses, the friend to his country, and the well-wisher to mankind.

SECTION



Published as the Act directs Feb. 20th 1777.

S E C T I O N I.

PHILIP Dormer Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield, was born 1694.
in London, on the 22d of September 1694 [1].

The antiquity of the Stanhopes [2] is sufficiently known, and needs no illustration. Several of our first nobility trace their origin from them [3], and their connections and inter-marriages with the principal families of the kingdom have been very numerous and extensive [4]. Their zeal for their country and fidelity to the crown, ever since the reign of Edward III. though often tried, could never be shaken; and their eminent services in the most critical times were justly rewarded by places of trust, and marks of distinction. The honor of peerage was conferred upon this family by king James I. and the title of earl by his son. The late lord stood the eighteenth in the rank of the English earls.

The first earl of Chesterfield lost his fortune, and two of his sons, in support of the royal cause; and, being himself taken prisoner, died in 1656, after twelve years confinement. His eldest son had been dead ever since the year 1634. By his wife, Catharine eldest daughter and coheiress to lord Wotton, he left an only son one year old. His mother undertook the care of his education, and, being appointed governess to Charles the First's
6 eldest

1694. eldest daughter, accompanied her into Holland, on the completion of her marriage with the prince of Orange's son, in 1642. She herself had married the Dutch nobleman [5] employed in that negotiation, and by his interest and fortune had opportunities of sending supplies of arms and money to the king, during his greatest distress. Charles II. on the restoration, acknowledged these services, by promoting that lady to the rank of countess of Chesterfield in her own right. Her son Philip, in the mean while, had the advantage both of a military education in the best school of Europe, and of imbibing principles opposite to arbitrary power and persecution [6], in a country then struggling against their united efforts. The finishing of his education, indeed, may be thought not to have been equally happy, as he was sent over to Italy, and spent some years there. He returned, however, time enough, after he had inherited his grandfather's title, to bear a considerable part in forwarding the restoration; and in consideration of his services, the king appointed him lord chamberlain to queen Catharine, and gave him successively two regiments. He was likewise constituted lord warden and lord chief justice of all the king's forests, parks, &c. on this side Trent [7], and the honor of doctor of civil laws was conferred upon him by the university of Oxford. In his youth he was a man of wit and gallantry, though rather of a ceremonious and jealous disposition [8]. He was thought to have shared with his master the affections of the famous lady Castlemaine. This trespass was slightly resented by the easy king; but retaliated by the duke of York, who, not very secretly nor altogether in vain, paid his addresses to this lord's second wife, a daughter of the duke of Ormond. He shewed his resentment on this occasion, in a manner

ner, which drew upon him the raillery of the French and other ^{1694.} wits of that profligate court [9]. It was most probably this motive, that induced him to resign all his employments, on the accession of king James to the throne. He passed the remainder of his life, free and disengaged, in a delightful villa [10], and being a great lover of gardening, as well as a scholar, was complimented with Mr. Dryden's dedication of the Georgics [11]. An uninterrupted course of temperance, exercise, and useful amusements, procured him a happy and long life, being upwards of fourscore when he died in 1713.

This nobleman's third wife was Elizabeth Dormer, the earl of Carnarvon's eldest daughter, from whom the late earl inherited one of his names, together with an estate. His father was born of that marriage; and of him we know little more than that he was an earl of Chesterfield [12]. It is said that his apprehensions of the return of the Stuarts, an event which he judged near at hand, kept him attached to their cause, and that consequently he disapproved of his eldest son's engagements with the reigning family. It would appear surprising that with such principles he should have married one of the daughters of George Savile, marquis of Halifax, if the versatility of that celebrated nobleman were not sufficiently known [13].

He had four sons and two daughters [14]. Their mother did not live long enough to take the charge of their education. The eldest son, being rather neglected by his father [15], was taken care of by his grand-mother lady Halifax [16], who proved every way equal to this important task. Her mind seems to have been congenial with that of her late lord, and her understanding and wit were still exceeded by the goodness of her heart.

It

1705. It does not appear that her young ward was sent to any of the public schools. His sentiments, manners, and taste, were all formed upon the model he found at home. The best masters were chosen to render his accomplishments suitable to his birth. They hit upon the art of adapting their instructions to his disposition, and by this method improved his mind, while they gained his affection.

From his earliest youth he shewed an ardent desire of excelling in whatever he undertook [17], and an uncommon resolution in never deviating from the track he at first chalked out to himself, whatever difficulties he might find in his way. Two instances of this, however trifling, I shall beg leave to relate from the informations, which were transmitted to me by the bishop of Waterford.

He was very young, when lord Galway, who, though not a very fortunate general, was a man of uncommon penetration and merit, and who often visited the marchioness of Halifax, observing in him a strong inclination for a political life, but at the same time an unconquerable taste for pleasure, with some tincture of laziness, gave him the following advice. "If you intend to be a man of business, you must be an early riser. In the distinguished posts your parts, rank, and fortune, will intitle you to fill, you will be liable to have visitors at every hour of the day, and unless you will rise constantly at an early hour, you will never have any leisure to yourself." This admonition, delivered in the most obliging manner, made a considerable impression upon the mind of our young man, who ever after observed that excellent rule, even when he went to bed late, and was already advanced in years.

With

With such advantages and expectations, it is not surprising^{1705.} that he should have had an uncommon share of spirits. His natural liveliness was, in the beginning of his life, accompanied with some degree of warmth. He was rather impatient of contradiction, and is reported to have been somewhat passionate. This disposition, so improper for a statesman, was happily corrected by an incident; and the lesson he received, was the most efficacious, as he gave it to himself. Something, which he said or did in a fit of anger when he was young, made him so uneasy afterwards that he resolved from that time to watch over himself, and endeavour to curb the impetuosity of his temper. This he was happy enough to succeed in, and for the remainder of his life he was never known to be discomposed by any emotion of his mind.

When he was about fourteen years old, he had an opportunity^{1708.} of seeing an extraordinary person, Richard [18], the son of Oliver Cromwell. That great wicked man, as he was justly called, had left that son in possession of an authority, which, under the title of protector, raised him above most kings. But he could not inspire him with his own genius, aspiring spirit, and undaunted courage. Indolence and incapacity, which were Richard's characteristics, soon drove him from a seat much too exalted for him. Too weak and too inoffensive not to be suffered to live, he quietly retired to the happier station of a country gentleman; and, without entertaining the least idea of his having lost any advantages, he finished in obscurity a long life, untainted by ambition and secured from envy. Such was his situation, when he was called upon to give evidence in a court of justice. Upon his being named, the attention of the audience was fixed upon him. The judge,

1708. Sir John Holt, either from regard to his former state, or in consideration of his age, shewed him a kind of distinction, by ordering him a seat. This act of humanity drew upon the lord chief justice the censure of some persons; but he was highly commended for it by the queen, when he related the fact to her in the public drawing-room. Lord Chesterfield, who remembered distinctly this transaction, said that he only saw in Richard Cromwell a plain old man, without any appearance that could excite either regard or pity.

1710. The study of the French language had been an early part of young Stanhope's education (19); and when he was about sixteen, Mr. Jouneau, a French clergyman, was employed to improve him in the speaking of it, as well as to give him some tincture of classical knowledge, and the first rudiments of history and philosophy. His letters to that worthy man [22], at the same time that they shew the great progress which he had already made in the French tongue, disclose the natural turn both of his mind and heart. He expresses, in a most lively manner, his regard for his master; and he lost no opportunity of giving him ever after substantial proofs of his gratitude and attachment.

1712. At the age of eighteen, Mr. Stanhope was sent to Cambridge in order to improve his talents, and form those early connections, which commonly discover a young man's natural propensities, and almost constantly determine his future conduct.

Like other majestic monuments of antiquity, the English universities, defended by their own grandeur, and supported by the veneration in which they are held, resist the hand of time, and baffle any attempt to impair or to improve. Perhaps, they may
be

be thought not so well calculated to fit young men for a public ^{1712.}
as for a studious life. The colleges, of which they are com-
posed, having been founded in those rude ages, when the clergy
were in possession both of the little stock of learning still sub-
sisting, and of the great power and influence which that supe-
riority, such as it was, gave them, have ever since retained, and
even now that this preeminence has ceased, continue to possess
advantages peculiar to that order. Ecclesiastics are almost exclu-
sively members and governors of these noble seminaries of use-
ful knowledge. There are, however, some exceptions; and the
society of Trinity-Hall, which was chosen for our young noble-
man's residence, has long been distinguished on that account.
“ I find,” he says, in a letter dated August 22 1712, “ the
“ college, where I am, infinitely the best in the university; for
“ it is the smallest, and it is filled with lawyers, who have
“ lived in the world, and know how to behave. Whatever may
“ be said to the contrary, there is certainly very little debau-
“ chery in this university, especially amongst people of fashion,
“ for a man must have the inclinations of a porter to endure it
“ here [23].”

It is an object, at least, of curiosity to be informed of the first
steps of a young man, called by his birth, and entitled by his
talents, to the highest stations; and I have great satisfaction in
being able to gratify this curiosity by informations drawn from his
own letters. “ It is now,” says he, “ fir, I have a great deal of
“ business upon my hands; for I spend above an hour every
“ day in studying the civil law [24], and as much in philosophy;
“ and next week the blind man [25] begins his lectures upon
“ the mathematics; so that I am now fully employed. Would

1712. " you believe too that I read Lucian and Xenophon in Greek ?
 " which is made easy to me; for I do not take the pains to
 " learn all the grammatical rules; but the gentleman, who is
 " with me [26], and who is himself a living grammar, teaches
 " me them all as I go along. I reserve time for playing at
 " tennis, for I wish to have the *corpus sanum* as well as the
 " *mens sana*; I think the one is not good for much without
 " the other. As for anatomy, I shall not have an opportunity of
 " learning it; for though a poor man has been hanged, the sur-
 " geon, who used to perform those operations, would not this
 " year give any lectures, because it was a man, and then he says
 " the scholars will not come." I have been induced to transcribe
 these last lines, on purpose to shew our young nobleman's early
 turn to pleasantry. It appears from a subsequent letter, that he
 found means to go through a course of anatomy, which, from the
 satisfaction it gave him, retarded for some time his return to
 London. It might have been better for him, if he had not also
 dabbled in physic; he would not so often have been his own pa-
 tient, or intrusted his health to the care of empirics.

1713. The multiplicity of these different studies, and the reclusive life
 which he led at Cambridge, seem, from his own account [27],
 to have rendered him rather more desirous of displaying his phi-
 lological acquisitions than was suitable to his rank and destination.
 But this college-rust could not have penetrated very deep, since it
 was so soon and so perfectly worn off; and our young student
 never forgot or neglected what he, in the decline of life, so
 strongly pressed upon his son, that the art of persuading [28] is
 in fact that of pleasing.

Party

Party divisions, at that time, ran extremely high, throughout 1713. England, and Cambridge was by no means exempt from them. Lord Stanhope, so he was called upon the death of his grandfather Chesterfield, discloses very naturally and with good humor, his own ideas in the following lines to Mr. Jouneau. "Methinks
 "our affairs are in a very bad way; but, as I cannot mend them,
 "I meddle very little with politics: only I take a pleasure in
 "going sometimes to the coffee-house, to see the pitched battles
 "that are fought between the heroes of each party with
 "inconceivable bravery, and are usually terminated by the
 "total defeat of a few tea-cups on both sides." The same coolness may be discerned in some of his lordship's last letters: old age and youth have more than one affinity.

After having passed two years at the university [29], lord 1714. Stanhope was sent, according to the custom of his country, to begin the tour of Europe. He did not, however, follow the *costume* in every particular; for, he was not attended by any governor. He hastily passed through the towns in Flanders, without meeting with any proper objects to improve his understanding or excite his curiosity. He had not yet acquired a taste for pictures; and his mind was even at that time, as he expressed himself [30], more turned to persons than to things.

The summer of the year 1714 was more agreeably at least, if not more profitably, spent in Holland, and the greatest part of it at the Hague. It was in this enchanting place, that he first began to see the world. The company he found there, and which he thought the best, consisting chiefly of foreigners of different countries, and of different ranks, soon enabled him to throw off the scholar, and to become in some measure a new
 7 man.

1714.man. But, however indebted he might be for his improvements in good-breeding to his new friends, who laughed him out of some of his scholastic habits, he often regretted that he had contracted others among them, no less disgraceful to his understanding than detrimental to his reputation [31].

His pleasures, however, never made him lose sight of his great object, that of making a figure in his own country. His principles of liberty were sufficiently known, and he made no scruple of avowing them. The earl of Strafford, the British ambassador at the Hague, and one of the plenipotentiaries at the congress of Utrecht, entertained very different sentiments, and did not easily brook contradiction. I have been credibly informed [32], that our young traveller, the late earl of Burlington, and Mr. Doddington, since lord Melcombe, who met all together at the Hague, sometimes diverted themselves with teasing the warm negotiator, by speaking in favor of the whig party, and condemning the tory administration. They would scarcely have been so unreserved, had not affairs in England been near a crisis.

The accomplishments, which lord Stanhope had hitherto acquired, prepared him for Paris, and helped to qualify him for the polite world, which he found there. The reception he met with must have been very flattering, since he described it in the following manner. "I shall not give you my opinion of the French, because I am very often taken for one, and many a Frenchman has paid me the highest compliment they think they can pay to any one, which is, Sir, you are just like one of us." "I talk a great deal, I am very loud and peremptory; I sing and dance as I go along; and, lastly, I spend a monstrous deal of money in powder, feathers, white gloves, &c. [33]."

As

As this description is not unlike that which he gave many years ^{1714.} afterwards of his countrymen's way of spending their time at Paris [34], we may suppose that he was as yet far from being what he wished his favourite son to be, *le petit et l'aimable Stanhope* [35]. This surmise is confirmed by his own account of his awkward appearance in that metropolis of levity and taste, and of the means that were used to give him the *bon ton* [36].

So great were the changes Queen Ann's death made in England, that he regretted not having been present to partake of the general joy upon the arrival of her successor. He enjoyed, however, almost an equivalent satisfaction, in being a witness of the concern expressed both by the French and the Jacobites on this event. He, himself, esteemed it the greatest blessing that could have happened to Great Britain, whose religion and liberties he firmly believed would otherwise, in three months time, have been totally subverted [37].

Whether his apprehensions were altogether groundless is a point perhaps not easy to be determined. That suspicions of an intended invasion by the pretender were at that time entertained, appears from most of the papers and letters written by order of the electoral family of Hanover a few months before the queen's death [38]. From these we may judge of the popular fears at that critical period. Lord Chesterfield told the bishop of Waterford, that, if the queen had lived but a short time longer, the whigs would have taken up arms [39]. General Stanhope was to have commanded the army, and lord Cadogan to have seized the tower. All the officers on half-pay, some of whom are still living, had signed the association. The place of *rendez-vous* was appointed behind Montagu House. The officers held their arms
in

1714. in readiness in their bed-chambers, and were prepared to obey the summons at a minute's warning. Not one of them betrayed the secret; and lord Bolingbroke [40] never heard of this design till his return, when lord Chesterfield told him of it. Lord Bolingbroke, on the other hand, assured his friend, that he never had any fixed scheme in relation to the pretender, and that he had always avoided speaking of him to the queen, who, he said, did not like to hear any thing of a successor. He added, that the pretender never was in England, during the tory administration. How far *simulation* or *diffimulation* influenced the two lords in these reciprocal communications, may, perhaps, be a problem, which will be differently solved according to different systems. Lord Bolingbroke often said that we were still too near the scene, but that, one day, when private interests and connections should act with less force, the curtain would be drawn up, and many secrets disclosed.

Lord Chesterfield's sentiments, however, appear to have been at all times perfectly uniform. From these he never varied; his zeal and attachment to the crown were always tempered by the liberty he allowed himself of judging of those, who were in actual possession of it. These rulers of the world sat long before him; he observed them both in their royal robes and in their undress, and, having alternately been in favor and in disgrace with them, he drew their pictures from life with true, but never flattering, pencil.

The period we now conclude, and which may be called preparatory, is not the least interesting in the earl of Chesterfield's life. It shews the early pains he took to lay in a store of useful as well as extensive knowledge, and to habituate himself to an exertion

exertion of the mental powers he had received from nature. 1714. The building was now begun, and, to use his own metaphor, truly upon the principles of the Tuscan order, having all the strength and solidity necessary to bear a noble and permanent superstructure. As yet, however, the work was coarse and inelegant. The ornamental parts of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders, were still wanting to complete the whole. How these deficiencies were supplied, or, to quit the metaphor, how the accomplished gentleman succeeded to the imperfect youth, shall be shewn in the next section.

S E C T I O N II.

1714. **G**EORGE the first, elector of Hanover, ascended the throne of Great-Britain without any opposition. His title, though founded upon the principles of the revolution, upon repeated acts of parliament, and the choice of a free nation, was not however universally acknowledged. The government had been for many years in the hands of real or suspected enemies; whom it was equally dangerous to continue in power, or to dismiss. Their secret wishes, it was thought, had long been turned towards a competitor for the crown, who had been formerly acknowledged by Lewis XIV. and, while that monarch lived, was certain of finding in him, equally from motives of ambition and conscience, a zealous, though not an open, friend[1].

The new king arrived in England near two months after he had been proclaimed. The opposite parties were prepared for the struggle. Several changes had taken place; many more were expected, and a total revolution in the political system was, not without anxiety, foreseen.

This critical situation obliged the new ministry to call in to their assistance all those persons, who, from inclination and principle, were attached to their cause. Lord Stanhope was one of the first sent for. He owed this distinction to general Stanhope, grand-



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grand-son to the first earl of Chesterfield by a second wife, and ^{1714.} uncle to his father. As this brave officer, to whom the nation owed the conquest of Minorca, was one of the principal leaders of the whig party, and had stood forth in defence of the Hanover family during the trying years of the last reign, he expected, and deserved, to be nobly rewarded. He was immediately appointed secretary of state, and soon obtained the greatest share in the affections and confidence of the sovereign. His young kinsman could not have wished for a more favourable introduction; and therefore, though he had intended to spend the next carnival at Venice, he did not hesitate to sacrifice in this, as in many other instances, his pleasure to his duty.

Upon his arrival in London, he was presented to the king, ^{1715.} and appointed one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales. This post was equally suitable to his birth, his age, and his inclination. His genius, application, and knowledge of the constitution, gave him the best opportunities of acquiring the language and science of courts, of ingratiating himself with the successor to the crown, and of transforming a German prince into a British king. He found by his own experience, as he somewhere observes, that young favor is easily acquired; and that, when acquired, it is warm, though perhaps not more durable than most other court attachments usually are.

In a soil so unfavourable to the growth of virtues as courts generally are, it was our young lord's peculiar good fortune to meet with a man, whom Socrates would, probably, not have disowned as a disciple; and he had the good sense to make that man his friend. Lord Lumley, afterwards so well known, so greatly esteemed, and so universally regretted, under the name

1715. of lord Scarborough, was at this time lord of the bed-chamber, and master of the horse to the prince. The intimacy between these two noblemen was unreserved, notwithstanding the differences of characters and age, for lord Scarborough was ten years older; it continued unalterable amidst the conflict of interests and parties. We need no other test of the characters of these two lords, than that, though courtiers, they loved, trusted, and esteemed each other.

In these troublesome times, a seat in parliament was not considered merely as an honor, but also implied a duty, the performance of which was expected from all those, whose abilities were adequate to the task. They were called upon to make an open declaration of their sentiments, and to employ their powers in the service of their respective parties. For these purposes, lord Stanhope was elected into the first parliament under George I. as representative of the borough of S. Germans, Cornwall.

But though the interest of his king and country was the primary object of his lordship's attendance in that great assembly, where public good is so much talked of, and private interest so often pursued; yet, perhaps, the thirst of glory, that powerful incentive to great actions, was a motive of some weight with him. He knew that speaking well in the house of commons was the only way of making a figure, and rising to honors. Nature, by no means, if I may borrow his expressions, intended him for a *persona muta*, and one of the *pedarii*. He could not, without the utmost violence to his character, resolve to give silent votes. He tells his son, that from the day he was elected to the day that he spoke, which was a month after, he thought and dreamt of nothing but speaking; and, though much
awed

awed the first time, he acquitted himself in a manner, which ^{1715.} raised the expectations of his friends as well as his own.

The circumstance, in which he first took an active part, was delicate and in some degree decisive. The principal ministers of the late queen had been driven out of their country, or sent to the tower. Their antagonists, persecuted by them in the last reign, became in this, still more from revenge than from interest, their persecutors; and it is not unlikely that the rebellion which ensued, was as much the effect of the violence of the latter, as of the inclination of the former [2]. Articles of impeachment were drawn up by a committee of enquiry, composed of one and twenty members, against the principal contrivers of the peace of Utrecht. One of these was the duke of Ormond, who, as well as lord Bolingbroke, was prudent enough, to withdraw from the storm, and to leave the kingdom. As the duke had never been a friend to the last-named lord, and seemed much less culpable than the other ministers, several of the most moderate whigs were inclined to treat him with less severity. The majority, however, were of a different opinion; and our new member, who, on this occasion, spoke for the first time, appeared, what the well-meant zeal of inexperienced youth only could excuse, particularly violent. He said that, “ he “ never wished to spill the blood of any of his countrymen, much “ less the blood of any nobleman; but that he was persuaded “ that the safety of his country required that examples should “ be made of those who betrayed it in so infamous a manner [3].” This speech, he owns to his son, was but indifferent as to the matter: he even acknowledges that, if he had not been a young member, he certainly should have been reprimanded

1715. reprimanded by the house for some strong and indiscreet things which he had spoken. It went off however tolerably well, in favor of the spirit with which it was uttered, and the language with which it was graced. But, though he was not publicly censured, he could not escape private admonition. As soon as he had done speaking, one of the opposite party took him aside; and, having complimented him upon his *coup d'essai*, added, that he was exactly acquainted with the date of his birth, and could prove that, when he was chosen a member of the house, he was not come of age, and that he was not so now: at the same time he assured him, that he wished to take no advantage of this, unless his own friends were pushed, in which case, if he offered to vote, he would immediately acquaint the house with it. Lord Stanhope, who knew the consequences of this discovery [4], answered nothing, but, making a low bow, quitted the house directly, and went to Paris, probably not much concerned at the opportunity afforded him of finishing his noviciate in that city [5].

In the mean while, the rebellion had broken out in some parts of England as well as of Scotland. The success of this undertaking is sufficiently known. Like all other precipitate and ill-conducted schemes, it was soon quelled, and only served to distinguish the friends of government from its enemies. It is by no means improbable that lord Stanhope's expedition to Paris had more than one view. During the life-time of the old French king, the cause of the rebels had been indirectly supported by that court; and even in the beginning of the regency, all the vigilance of the British minister was exerted, to obstruct this pernicious intercourse [6]. Lord Stanhope, who, under the appearance of a man of pleasure, knew how to conceal the
man

man of business, may have been of singular service in discovering secret intrigues and machinations, and could never have found a better school to improve his talents for negotiation. All the motions of the Jacobites were narrowly watched; their correspondence with those, who had taken up arms in favor of the pretender, detected, and the supplies from his well-wishers in France in great measure cut off. Lord Bolingbroke, it is well known, was by the ambassador's influence reclaimed from the service of the chevalier to that of the king; and he justified the account, which the earl had given of the sincerity of his return [7], by secret assistance and seasonable informations. The careful and spirited conduct of lord Stair was at that time greatly commended, though afterwards not sufficiently acknowledged [8].

The success, which had attended the measures and arms of government, was not thought sufficient to secure its stability. The rashness and impetuosity, with which the rebellion had been carried on, were proofs of the confidence, which those who were concerned in it placed in their strength, and seemed to indicate that they possessed resources the more alarming, as they were concealed. The number of the disaffected had on this occasion been found to be much greater than was before suspected. Without secret encouragement, the pretender would scarcely have ventured to come over to Scotland, and to suffer himself to be crowned after the overthrow of his forces. His friends abroad, though disappointed, continued still to threaten [9]; his partisans in the kingdom, and even in both houses, dropped hints of revenge. Though the majority in the present parliament was greatly on the side of the whigs, the leaders of that party

1716. party feared, or seemed to fear, that another election might not be equally favourable to them. This apprehension induced the ministry to bring in a bill for making this, as well as future parliaments, septennial.

The duration of these national assemblies is well known to have varied at different periods. The time of their being convened has mostly been unsettled, and though their meetings were sometimes yearly, or perhaps more frequent, yet they commonly were occasional, and dependent upon the business of the kingdom. The parliament became independent of the crown under Charles I. and with proper management might have become so of the people, under his sons. The first error proved fatal to the king, the last might have been destructive of the constitution. To prevent both extremes, the reigning party, soon after the revolution [10], procured an act to limit the duration of parliaments to three years. Experience soon discovered, especially in the following reign, the inconveniencies of too frequent elections, which often favor the ends of faction, and are the cause of unsteadiness in the administration of affairs. The ferment, in which the nation was at that time, and the necessity there was of a firm and permanent ministry, rendered these consequences more obvious and more dangerous. It was apprehended that the malecontents might wish for a time of general confusion, as being the most favourable to their designs. A period of seven years was therefore proposed to be substituted to that of three; and after a strong debate, the motion was carried in both houses. Lord Stanhope spoke in support of this alteration, and we learn from himself [10], that this second speech was delivered with more freedom, and received more favourably than the first. His sentiments on this subject seem to have continued the same

through life [11], and though he often expressed in the strongest 1716. terms his fears of the progress of corruption [12], he did not seem to think short parliaments a certain remedy against it. Indeed, the scenes of violence and debauchery, inseparable from popular elections, afford just reasons to doubt whether the return to triennial or even annual parliaments would, in the present state of things, contribute more to the advantage of liberty than to the encouragement of licentiousness and the propagation of vice.

Our young senator continued from time to time to speak in 1717. the house of commons, and it appears from his account [13] that he took pains to improve his manner, and shake off his apprehensions. The advantage of his rank, the figure he made in parliament, his insinuating graces in and out of court, must have raised him very speedily to the highest employments, if an unforeseen event had not for a time obstructed his elevation.

This incident was the misunderstanding between the king and his son, which happened about this time. It took its rise from a circumstance, which would appear of little moment [14], if even the most trifling occurrences did not become important, by the greatness of the persons concerned in them. There were, in this case, other causes, which contributed to the effect. The people in power had for some time been divided; and the principal of them, headed by lord Townshend, were thought to be supported by the successor. His spirits, and a better acquaintance with the language and laws of the kingdom, naturally drew after him a great number of adherents. More heat was shewn by the king on this occasion than might have been expected from a man of his easy and benevolent disposition, who in private life would have been loved and esteemed as an amiable if not as a bright man. The prince of

1716. Wales was no longer appointed regent of the kingdom, in his father's absence; he was ordered to quit the palace, no public honors were paid to his rank; he was separated from his children, and a consultation was held to appropriate to their maintenance part of his income of one hundred thousand pounds. This last attempt did not succeed. Even court-lawyers decided, that, if the father and mother were not allowed to superintend the education of their family, they ought to be excused from bearing any part in the expence.

During the time of this division, no person was allowed to remain neuter. The courtiers deserted the prince; and his friends were not received at St. James's. This was the case with lord Stanhope. Attached to one court, he could expect no favor from the other, where the influence of his friends must otherwise have secured his promotion. General Stanhope, by his merit and zeal, was grown all-powerful with the king, who readily formed private attachments. He accompanied his master, in all his expeditions to Hanover, both as a minister and as a friend, and was successively advanced to the ranks of viscount and of earl. When Mr. Robert Walpole quitted the post of first lord of the treasury, he was appointed to succeed him; and, having made an exchange with the earl of Sunderland, held the seals as secretary of state. The interest of such a man was therefore of the highest importance; it had proved extremely beneficial to another person of the family [15]; and it was lord Stanhope's fault, if he did not likewise experience its effects. The greatest efforts were made for some years to detach him from his present connections; and, by the price that was offered, we may judge of the value that was set upon his abilities. His father was
to

to have been made a duke ; but this offer could not tempt him. 1717. He was unwilling to barter his honor for any title ; and thought likewise that the younger sons of a duke ought to have larger fortunes than either his brothers or his children were likely to have. The old earl of Chesterfield, though shy of the court, was less indifferent to its trappings. He expressed his displeasure at his son's refusal, and perhaps was happy in having a new excuse to justify his ill-treatment of him.

Lord Stanhope was, unfortunately, obliged to divide for the first time against the court, in the contest for the repeal of the occasional and schism bills [16]. These two acts, which had been passed with much difficulty during the last years of queen Ann, excited great discontent. The most moderate of the tories, as well as the whigs, judged them extremely oppressive to a considerable part of the nation. Nothing gives a more convincing proof how far the spirit of party may carry people beyond their real sentiments, than to see some great men, whom toleration had formerly favoured, now becoming the advocates of intolerant principles ; and to observe several of the former opposers of these bills, now equally violent in their opposition to the repeal. I am told, sir Robert Walpole particularly regretted his having joined the clamorous high-church men on that occasion. Young lord Stanhope, who was in the same opposition, and voted on the same side, was more excusable, as he probably still laboured under some prejudices of education. "I thought it," says he, "impossible, for the honestest man in the world to be fayed out of the pales of the church, not considering that matters of opinion do not depend upon the will ; that it is as natural and as allowable that another man should differ in opinion from

1718. "me, as that I should differ from him; and that if we are
 "both sincere we are both blameless, and should consequently
 "have mutual indulgence for each other." His good sense,
 however, did not suffer him to join in the new test, proposed by
 lord Guernsey, which, though supported by the great Mr. Addison,
 was rejected by a majority of the house [17].

1719. The prince of Wales's patience, we may suppose, was put to
 a trial, when the bill for limiting the number of peers [18] was
 brought into parliament for two successive sessions. However
 reasonable this bill might be thought in itself, it seemed partial,
 ill-timed, and only intended to serve as a test between the
 worshippers of the setting, and those of the rising, sun. The
 loss, which the crown would have sustained in the power of
 acknowledging services, and of securing a majority in the upper
 house, could only be felt by the successor; and, in proportion
 as it lessened the future influence of the crown, it must necessa-
 rily diminish the number and zeal of the prince's friends. This
 consideration, probably, had greater weight with the house of
 commons than the motives of emulation deduced from the
 situation of the temples of virtue and of honor, which were
 most eloquently displayed by one of the members. He severely
 reflected upon a gentleman, who, having gained admittance into
 the house of peers, seemed to wish to shut the door after him [19].
 Probably the desire of shewing his gratitude to his benefactor
 influenced our young nobleman, as much as the utility of the
 bill and his own aristocratical principles, to divide with all the
 Stanhopes [20] in favor of the minority, which for the first
 time under this reign was on the court side. The bill, which
 had readily passed the house of peers, was by an equally great
 majority

majority thrown out in the house of commons, and has never 1719. been introduced since.

Whether this ill success, or the confusion of affairs in the 1720. ensuing south-sea year, contributed to a temporary reconciliation in the royal family, is uncertain. The prince was restored to public honors, though not to public trust; and his friends were again well received at the king's court. It happened unfortunately for lord Stanhope, that his relation died suddenly in the meridian of his power, and was sincerely regretted by his master [21]. But lord Townshend, who succeeded as secretary of state, became also lord Stanhope's patron, and lived ever after with him in as strict an intimacy as their different ages and situations would admit.

The prince of Wales had probably expected to bear a part in public affairs, and to be constituted regent during his father's absence. He was disappointed, however, in his expectations; for, when the king went to Hanover in 1720, the regency was put into other hands [22]. The prince's friends voted next 1721. year on the side of the opposition. We accordingly find lord Stanhope's name amongst the speakers against the court, on a question concerning a small tax to be laid on civil employments. In this debate, he answered his friend and kinsman, Mr. Henry Pelham; as afterwards in the other house he frequently opposed the duke of Newcastle: but it was his maxim, that political affairs know no relations, friends, or acquaintance.

The alarm occasioned by the discovery of a new plot, for a 1722. time, put a stop to these divisions, and united all those who were well-affected to the family. The particulars of this intrigue, in which a catholic duke, a protestant bishop, an English noble-
man,

1722. man, an Irish peer, two divines, and a physician, were all supposed to be engaged, remain a mystery even to this day. The danger, to which the protestant cause would have been exposed if the conspiracy had succeeded, made the friends to the constitution exert themselves with redoubled vigor. As this was the period of elections for the second parliament of this reign, great efforts were made on both sides to procure a majority; but the court had manifestly the advantage. The king, with a view of increasing his popularity, took his son with him in a tour, which he made through the western provinces. He reviewed his troops encamped on Salisbury plain, and appeared as the monarch of the sea, on visiting at Portsmouth the triumphant fleet lately returned from the glorious expedition to Messina.

The effects of these measures were obvious. In the first session of parliament, a motion was made, and carried, to strengthen the power of government, by an augmentation of 4000 men to the army. Lord Stanhope, then member for Lostwithiel, in Cornwall, a borough for which, when he became a peer, his brother, John Stanhope, was elected representative, spoke with great strength in favor of the motion. He was undoubtedly glad of an opportunity of shewing his attachment to the reigning family, though he might, by this fresh instance of zeal, still add to his father's displeasure.

1723. He was soon after rewarded for this mark of fidelity, by being appointed captain of the yeomen of the guards. It is remarkable, that this favor was granted at the time that the king, on setting out for Hanover, again excluded the prince from the regency. Lord Townshend, to whom he succeeded in this post,

post, advised him, to make it more profitable, than he him-^{1723.}self had done, by disposing of the places. "I rather, for this
 "time," answered lord Stanhope, "wish to follow your lord-
 "ship's example than your advice." Lord Lumley, who was
 become lord Scarborough by his father's death, had six years
 before obtained the second regiment of foot guards. A happy
 conformity of principles between these two noblemen pro-
 duced a similitude of conduct in similar circumstances. None
 of the commissions were ever sold by either.

On the revival of the order of the Bath, his lordship was offered ^{1725.}the red ribband. This he thought proper to refuse; and was
 not well pleased with his brother, sir William, for accepting it.
 It is also said, that his lordship took an opportunity of
 exercising his humorous talents upon this occasion; for sir
 William Morgan of Tredegar, one of the new knights, having
 lost the ensign of the order, he made a ballad to turn it into
 ridicule. This ballad, I am informed, was equally witty and
 satyrical.

Whether this humorous piece of pleasantry followed or pre-
 ceded his lordship's disgrace, is uncertain. But when the king
 set out this year for Hanover, among the changes that were
 made at court, lord Stanhope shared the fate of Mr. Pulteney,
 and was dismissed from his place.

I have been informed, that a singular circumstance pre-
 vented his lordship from displaying his abilities in the house of
 commons, as he afterwards did in the house of peers. There
 was a member of that house, who, though not possessed of
 superior powers, had the dangerous talent of making those,
 whom

1725. whom he answered, appear ridiculous, by mimicking their tone and action. Lord Stanhope was often exposed to this unequal conflict, and always found himself hurt by it. Possibly, this circumstance, had he remained long in the lower house, might have deprived his country of one of its finest orators.

1726. It was therefore fortunate, both for the public and himself, that the death of his father, which happened soon after, removed him to the house of lords. During the remainder of that reign, he continued true to his engagements, and spoke occasionally on the side of the opposition. But he then had few opportunities to distinguish himself, in the manner he afterwards did in more important debates.

The complaint of a want of form in a message from the king occasioned a very smart contest in the house of lords. The earl of Chesterfield, a few months after he had inherited the title, 1727. stood up in vindication of the privileges of the house. He likewise spoke the year after in a debate concerning a clause in a money-bill; which gave the sovereign a discretionary power of applying part of the supplies in any way he might think proper, for the security of the kingdom, and the maintenance of the peace of Europe. In both cases, however, lord Chesterfield contented himself with speaking, and avoided joining in the protests which were entered and signed by the dissenting lords.

Nothing seems to have hurt George the first more than the frequent oppositions he met with on account of subsidies. Bred up in principles different from those of the country which he was called to govern, he could not avoid complaining to his most intimate friends, that he was come over to England to be a
begging

begging king. He added, that he thought his fate very hard ^{1727.} to be continually opposed in his applications for supplies, which he only asked that he might employ them for the advantage of the nation. How far he might deceive himself in these notions can scarcely now be ascertained. He is allowed, by those who knew him best and were most attached to him, to have been somewhat inclined to parsimony, diffident of himself, and very partial to his electorate. But, if he was shy of appearing in the full splendor of majesty, he was still more averse from any act of oppression; and, contented to be beloved by a few, did not wish public incense. He died suddenly, of an apoplectic stroke, on his journey to Hanover, the 11th of June, in the sixty-eighth year of his life; and left many private friends, who sincerely lamented his loss.

Perhaps, had he lived longer, he would have judged more favourably of his situation; and experienced, that to be truly a British king is in fact to be the greatest monarch in Europe. The earl of Chesterfield was not sufficiently intimate with him, to make him sensible of these great truths, which lord Scarborough and himself endeavoured to inculcate into the mind of his successor. Their endeavours may be supposed not to have been altogether fruitless, but might have proved still more effectual, if other interests and connections had not concurred with the prejudices of a first and foreign education to lessen their influence. Happy those kings who have Sullys for their guides! and happy those guides who have such kings as a Henry IV of France for their pupils!

Before we quit this period, in which lord Chesterfield made his first appearance in the world, both as a senator and courtier, it will not be improper to take a short survey of his talents, and

1727. of the opportunities he had, as well as of the means he employed, to improve them.

Genius is certainly not confined to place or time. Bountiful heaven has scattered it over the whole world, and, as far as we know, in proportions not very unequal. But the exertions of genius, and especially its application to any particular object, seem rather to depend on circumstances. Eloquence, which in this island, as in all free states, opens the readiest way to honors, is never in greater estimation, nor employed with more success, than in those critical times, when the highest interests become subjects of debate, and disputes run less on the good of the state than on its preservation. It is with orators as with warriors; their numbers are increased in those times when they become most necessary; and an age of dangers, difficulties, and struggles, never fails of producing both.

This was evinced in the period which immediately succeeded the reign of queen Ann. A disputed title, a foreign prince, two opposite factions violently exasperated, and resolutely bent on each other's destruction; invasions from without [23], open [24] and secret conspiracies within [25], an unsettled peace, a treasury exhausted, and the apprehensions of a national bankruptcy [26]; such was the state of the nation during the life of George I. His good sense, knowledge of the interests of Europe, and (notwithstanding what the pen of party, or even lord Chesterfield, may have advanced to the contrary) his foresight and activity, supported and firmly established a throne raised on an unstable foundation; and through his management the British crown was fixed upon his head by that power which had been most interested, as well as industrious, in endeavouring to deprive him of it [27].

To

To a man of moderate abilities, it might have sufficed to have yielded to the impulse of the times; but lord Chesterfield was not contented to glide passively along with the stream. Many circumstances enabled him to take a more active part; and he neglected none of the advantages, which fortune threw in his way. Born with a spirit of observation, he from his youth had remarkable opportunities of observing great men. The restoration and the revolution were both under his eyes. The principal actors in the busy scenes of the preceding century were still living. If he had not the happiness of being informed and directed by his grand-father, Halifax, he was at least introduced very early into the company of Halifax's rivals, as well as into that of his friends. Danby and Montagu, inveterate enemies under Charles II, whose schemes they had by turns encouraged and defeated, were now safely arrived in port. Free from those tumultuous passions, which had so long kept them at variance, they daily met, like friends, at the house of lady Halifax; as the elder African's brother, and old Cato, may be supposed to have done at the house of the mother of the Gracchi [28]. Under their eyes, the young eagle was made to try his wings, in order one day to soar above their reach.

Models of eloquence of all kinds were equally set before him. In the lower house, which he had just quitted, he had heard, and sometimes borne a part in those animated debates, in which Shippen, Wyndham, and Bromley, made a vigorous, though unsuccessful, stand against those whom they had formerly defeated. Walpole and Pulteney, united as they had been by party and by common danger, separated as soon as they were victorious. Walpole, born for business, indefatigable in labor, and supported

1727. by a powerful influence [39], was a clear, as well as artful speaker; and his cotemporaries allowed him to be at once the best parliament-man, and the fittest to take the lead in the house. Pulteney, by nature formed for social and convivial pleasures, excited by resentment to engage in business, and raised by art to be the idol of the people, united all the qualities of a complete orator. He was florid, entertaining, persuasive, pathetic, and sublime, as occasions required. The first, equally master of his subject and of himself, appeared constantly calm, quickly discovered the disposition of his hearers, and, never unprepared himself, knew equally when to press and when to recede: the second, whose breast was the seat of ever-contending passions, with arguments, wit, and even tears at command, bore down all opposition, and sometimes awakened the sensibility of those whom he could not convert. These two great men, so different in their manner, deserved to be studied, though not to be implicitly followed, by such an original genius as lord Chesterfield.

The upper house was no less fertile in great characters fit to attract his observation. Sommers indeed was then no more [30]; but Cowper still distinguished himself by superior powers of elocution [31]. Harley still spoke, and sometimes still with dignity [32]. But, above all, lord Bolingbroke, whom lord Chesterfield heard in his youth, had made the strongest impressions upon him [33]. Among the persons, who succeeded to these eminent speakers, several would have appeared with greater advantages, if the qualities of their hearts had equalled those of their heads. The unprincipled and unthinking duke of Wharton disgraced the finest parts and best education by the bad use he made

made of both; and, with the capacity of a Tully, became, like 1727. Clodius, a profligate and wretched incendiary [34]. The restless bishop of Rochester, disappointed in his hopes of a primacy [35], with superior abilities, a classical purity of language, and an austere dignity of action, stood forth the champion of a constitution which he attempted to subvert [36], and of a church whose principles he possibly disbelieved [37]. Human nature, degraded by these instances of the abuse that may be made of her gifts, seemed to recover her dignity in some men of great, though very different, merit. Slow in his parts, rough in his manner, impatient of contradiction, the humane, generous, and benevolent, lord Townshend, was inelegant in his language, often perplexed in his arguments; but always spoke sensibly, and with a thorough knowledge of the subject.

John, duke of Argyle, discovered the man of quality in all his discourses, no less than in all his actions: he was a most pleasing speaker, though perhaps not the closest reasoner; and, being himself moved, he warmed, he charmed, he ravished the audience [38]. A happy mixture of the two preceding characters was found in lord Carteret. Master of antient, as well as of modern languages, this great imitator of Demosthenes [39] possessed a most uncommon share of learning, and had made the laws of his own and of other countries his particular study. His political knowledge of the interests of princes and of commerce was extensive; his notions were great, perhaps not always just. As a speaker, he had a wonderful quickness and precision in seizing the weak and strong side of a question, which no art or sophistry could disguise to him; and his talents in the argumentative were not inferior to those in the declamatory way.

Lord

1727. Lord Scarborough was a strong, though not an eloquent or florid speaker in parliament; his discourses were the honest dictates of his heart. Truth and virtue seemed to borrow his voice, and gave such weight to all he said, that he more than once carried an unwilling majority after him. The same thing may be said of a nobleman cotemporary with those I just now named; who, still living, preserves in the most advanced age that vigor and presence of mind which distinguished all his life, and will be remembered by posterity with that reverence which is due to great honor and great truth [40]. Many other characters might be sketched, and some will come in course in a subsequent period; but these may be sufficient to give some idea of the eloquence of those times. Besides, I am sensible how unequal I am to such sketches, fitter for the masterly hand of him whose picture I am attempting to draw.

Lord Chesterfield's eloquence, though the fruit of study and imitation, was in great measure his own. Equal to most of his cotemporaries in elegance and perspicuity, perhaps surpassed by some in extensiveness and strength, he could have no competitors in choice of imagery, taste, urbanity, and graceful irony. This turn might originally have arisen from the delicacy of his frame, which, as on one hand it deprived him of the power of working forcibly upon the passions of his hearers, enabled him on the other to affect their finer sensations by nice touches of raillery and humor. His strokes, however poignant, were always under the controul of decency and sense. He reasoned best, when he appeared most witty; and, while he gained the affections of his hearers, he turned the laugh on his opposers, and often forced them to join in it [41].

It

It might, in some degree, be owing to this particular turn^{1727.} that our nobleman was not heard with so much applause in the lower as in the upper house. Refined wit and delicate irony are often lost in popular and numerous assemblies. Strength, either of argument or voice, a flow of pompous words, and a continual appeal to the passions, are in such places the best arms to support a good cause or to defend a bad one. The case is very different in the house of peers. Minds cast in a finer mould, affect to despise what they stile the vulgar arts; and, raised equally above fears and feelings, can only be affected by wit and ridicule, and love to find some of that elegant urbanity and convivial pleasantry which charms them in private life.

Of all the modes of eloquence this seems to be the most difficult. As it cannot be practised without great variety, and is above the reach of moderate parts, it constantly stands in need of encouragements and assistance. A man of letters, not destitute of abilities and imagination, may in his study, by constant application to the works of the great orators of Athens and of Rome, acquire the knack (for often it is not much more [42]) of striking his hearers with terror, of inflaming them with indignation, or of melting them into softness and tears [43]. But the art of managing irony and pleasantry with advantage is a peculiar gift, and requires a constant intercourse with people of fashion and men of wit. Lord Chesterfield was early [44] acquainted with those, who in his time deservedly enjoyed the most distinguished reputation; and he somewhere mentions to his son his happiness, in having been introduced to these great men, notwithstanding his inferiority of age. Among his friends, were Mr. Addison, sir John Van Brugh [45], Dr. Garth,

1727. Garth, and Dr. Arbuthnot [47], Mr. Gay [48], Mr. Pope [49],
 and several more. Though the last of these great writers seemed
 in public conversation continually afraid that the man should
 degrade the poet, and did not easily familiarise himself with
 those who wished to procure an intimacy with him; yet he very
 soon attached himself to lord Chesterfield, admitted him in his
 private parties, and was particularly desirous of enjoying his
 company in his retirement at Twickenham. There he made
 himself most agreeable to those whom he thus distinguished.
 The wit and taste of our English nobleman was not a little im-
 proved by this intimate intercourse, in which he had opportu-
 nities likewise to observe the English bard's charitable disposi-
 tion, and natural benevolence of mind, notwithstanding the load
 of infirmities which in some degree contributed to whet the
 edge of his satire, and induced him to treat without mercy those
 who assumed any kind of superiority over, or happened to
 offend, him.

It may easily be conceived that a society, composed of such
 men, must have been to the highest degree entertaining and
 instructive. It was so esteemed; and is so spoken of by those
 who had the honor of being admitted into it. At Mr. Pope's
 garden at Twickenham, especially, the flower of the nobility met
 without any pageantry of state, jealousy of party, or distinction
 of sect [50]. Amongst these were, Cobham, Bathurst, Queens-
 bury, Pulteney, Orrery, Lyttelton, Marchmont, Murray, names
 sacred in the annals of their country, and immortalised by the
 poet they loved. The head and the heart were both improved
 by such a familiar intercourse of true greatness and genius. To
 these eminent judges, as well as patrons of wit, the young
 author

author submitted his first essays, and received encouragement and advice. By their assistance and credit the veteran poet was often relieved, and sometimes supported against the frowns of courts, and under the pressure of old age and of want [49]. Sentiments of benevolence and generosity were impressed upon the soul of him, whom pride was likely to mislead, or avarice to corrupt. Such were the friends, whom lord Chesterfield was so happy to be connected with; in their company, and by their joint assistance and encouragement, Pope sketched his ethic epistles, which point out to man his grandeur and his weakness; and his immortal satires, which, in this island, have most seasonably stopped the progress of pedantry and false taste.

Swift seems to have been much less intimate with our earl, though he attempted to become so [50]. Perhaps it were to be wished that lord Chesterfield had maintained the same reserve with lord Bolingbroke; but lord Bolingbroke was not to be resisted. In that extraordinary man, nature seems to have blended two different and opposite souls; and he might have been the greatest character of his, or of any age, if, in many respects, he had not shewn himself the weakest [51]. Lord Chesterfield's acquaintance with Bolingbroke commenced long before the great opposition to sir Robert Walpole, and perhaps was begun at Paris. One reason of this connection was certainly, that much could be learned from him, particularly with regard to public affairs; and, though the earl by no means adopted either his political or religious principles in their full extent, he continued in great intimacy with him to his death. I have been told, that king George I, who owed himself under great obligations to lord Bolingbroke, intended, if he had lived to return

1727. to England, to have made him prime minister; and I should believe this intelligence sufficiently well-grounded [52], if, on the other hand, no less respectable authorities did not oblige me to suspend my judgment on this point [53]. Posterity will, perhaps, continue some time in the same state of indecision.

Several foreigners, who have since made a shining figure in the republic of letters, visited England during this period, and formed intimate connections with our earl. Some of the principal were Algarotti, the happy imitator of Fontenelle [54], Montesquieu, and Voltaire. The author of the Persian letters spent two years in this country, the best part of which were taken up in studying that admirable constitution he was so fond of, and has so well described. He could not derive his informations from better authority than lord Chesterfield. It is said that Montesquieu, in mixt companies, did not appear equal to the idea conceived of him; but he is universally allowed to have been most amiable, sprightly, and universal, in select societies. Such a man could not fail to please; and, having once pleased, soon to become the friend of lord Chesterfield. We find accordingly that they kept up a regular correspondence, which only ended with Montesquieu's life.

The young author of the *Henriade* came into England a few years before, with a view to publish his poem; and, at the same time, to improve his knowledge and his taste. The patronage of the princess of Wales, afterwards queen Caroline [55], was procured by lord Chesterfield, one of the best judges of such a poem, and of the same age with the writer [56]. And, indeed, these considerations seem somewhat to have influenced his judgment, both of the poem and of the man.

It

It would be matter of astonishment, if human nature did^{1727.} not afford numerous instances of similar inconsistencies, to find that the same man, who was so delicate and so happy in the choice of his societies, should have shown himself so defective in that of his amusements. We wish it were possible to suppress this article; but, if the principal merit of a picture consists in representing faithfully its original, we cannot omit the shades occasioned by his lordship's immoderate attachment to pleasure, and particularly to gaming. This last passion, the least excusable of all, especially when not fostered by want, or accompanied with skill, was in every period of his life equally detrimental to his character and fortune [57]. It engaged him every night in the company of people, with whom he would have been ashamed to have been seen at any other time. He knew, and despised, yet could not shun, them [58]. Crouds flocked round the gaming table, to enjoy so unequal a strife; in which, while his pocket was picked, the applause, which the repeated flashes of his wit drew from all around, seemed to make him abundant amends for his losses [59].

Having thus described lord Chesterfield's preparations for his political career, we shall now endeavour to give the best account we can of him in this new scene. But, on seeing him launch forth from a life spent in polite studies, elegant conversation, ease and pleasure, to one of labor, difficulties and dangers; we experience the same feelings, which would be raised by the sight of a friend embarking, in order to pursue, upon uncertain seas, and in unexplored countries, that fortune and honor, which heaven gave, and he leaves behind him. Our admira-

1727. tion of his courage can only be equalled by our anxiety for
his safety; and, while from the shore we follow him as far
as our eyes are able to reach, we cannot help expressing
our earnest wish, that he may be restored to us not much
the worse for so perilous a voyage.

SECTION



J. Hall sculp.

S E C T I O N . III.

LORD Chesterfield was three and thirty years of age, when ^{1727.} the crown of Great Britain devolved on a prince, in whose family and favor he had continued thirteen years. His sentiments, on this occasion, may easily be conceived; and he had an early opportunity of expressing them, as well as the wishes of the nation, in the speech he made in the house of lords, to introduce the motion for the address of condolence, of congratulation, and of thanks to the king, a fortnight after the death of his father.

As the earl's joy, on this occasion, was natural, his expectations must likewise have been great. If sufferings in the prince's cause, if the refusal of considerable offers to detach him from his service, if trials of zeal, and all the attentions of a courtier joined to the abilities of a statesman, could have secured a master's affection, he had every reason to hope that he should succeed in a short time to the same degree of influence and trust with George II, which earl Stanhope had deservedly acquired with George I.

The first appearances, however, were different. The sovereign, at his accession, seemed rather more disposed to forget former

1727. former offences, than anxious to reward past services. Few changes were made in public offices; the prince readmitted several, who, having formerly belonged to his court, had since thought proper to desert it; and it was soon observed that some persons, who had been most in favor with the late king, were likely to enjoy the same influence under the present reign.

Whether the earl's attachment was thought so strong as not to require any immediate encouragement, or whether a want of obsequiousness, even at that early period (1), diverted for some time the course of royal favors from him, is uncertain. His name, however, was not in the list of promotions; he kept only his post of lord of the bed-chamber, and was not even restored to the place of captain of the yeomen of the guard, which on his dismissal had been bestowed on the earl of Leicester. Lord Scarborough seemed to have been distinguished more early. He was immediately appointed master of the horse, and made a member of the privy council, into which lord Chesterfield was not admitted till six months afterwards.

1728. To persons unacquainted with courts, it may appear that the nomination of the earl to the embassy of Holland (2) was not only a sufficient equivalent for the rewards he might have expected, but also an earnest of future advancement. Perhaps it was intended to be so; but those, who know by what precarious tenure kingly favor is held, may suspect that the fear of giving his lordship further opportunities of ingratiating himself with his master, had some share in this promotion.

But whatever the minister's views, in sending him as ambassador to the Hague, may have been, the post itself was equally

sued to lord Chesterfield's taste and abilities, and he was deter-1728.
mined to distinguish himself in this station, that it might be
a step to his further elevation.

The choice of his attendants was his first object, and he was in general directed in it by the strictest laws of decency and propriety. The honorable John Stanhope, his brother, was, at his recommendation, appointed secretary of embassy. In him, he was sure to find an amiable companion and a true friend; but could neither expect a guide, nor apprehend a rival. Indeed it was at all times his principle, to suffer no person about him, who might assume the consequence of a prime minister.

The other persons, who composed his family, were either such as he himself perfectly knew, or who were recommended to him, by those, with whom he was most intimate. To lord Bolingbroke he was indebted for the choice of his equerry Mr. now colonel Rutter, a gentleman often mentioned with distinction in his letters.

Dr. Broxholm, his friend as well as his physician, a man of taste as well as great skill in his profession, introduced to his lordship his brother-in-law, who, from a happy and singular conformity of character, manners, and inclinations, soon became particularly attached to him. He was a second son, of a good family, and about eighteen years old. His father Anthony Hammond esq; was one of the commissioners of the navy, accounted a good speaker in parliament, and well known by the name of silver-tongued Hammond, given to him by lord Bolingbroke. He was a man of wit, but, not unlike other orators, wanted conduct, and had, as lord Chesterfield used to say, "all the senses but common sense." He, however, did not neglect the education of his son,
and

1728. and sent him to Westminster school, where he laid in a considerable stock of classical and polite learning. Born a poet, and endowed with a considerable share of sensibility as well as delicacy, he was particularly happy in imitating those great masters of antiquity, whose writings contain the most faithful representations of the human heart, and in particular that poet, who, in this respect, has excelled them all, Tibullus. His life was a remarkable instance of the different use that can be made of great talents. He divided his time between the pursuit of pleasures and fashionable amusements, and a close attention to his favourite study of poetry; but these two objects could not, at the same time, occupy his soul. When he was the man of the world, the agreeable companion, the lively wit, he entirely lost sight of books and studies. But these times of dissipation were succeeded by intervals of retirement. In these, which often lasted many weeks, he shut himself up, and devoted himself to the service of his favorite authors; from whom he afterwards returned to the world with a fresh stock of fancy and spirits. His heart was a most friendly one, and he enjoyed every opportunity of obliging, in a manner peculiar to himself. The ambassador loved him with all his singularities, which in some measure were his own. Their intimacy grew to a very great degree, and shewed itself, even after the death of the poet.

But it was particularly from the hands of friendship that he received his chaplain. Richard Chenevix, born in England, but of a distinguished family in France, was chosen for this office. This gentleman's father, one of the unfortunate victims of persecution, driven out of his native country by the repeal of

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the edict of Nantz, had served as exempt in a troop of horse-1728. guards, at the time that lord Scarborough's father commanded that corps, and afterwards died gloriously at Blenheim, at the head of the second squadron of carabineers, of which he was major. His second son, who was the earl of Scarborough's godson, was educated at the university of Cambridge, afterwards went into orders, and was appointed domestic chaplain to the earl of Scarborough, and to the lord Whitworth at the congress of Cambray. On his return to England, lord Scarborough recommended him to lord Chesterfield, to accompany him to Holland. The choice of a clergyman, who understood and could speak the French and English languages equally well, was particularly proper, as it was then intended that the earl, after staying some time in Holland, should go from thence ambassador to France (3). Mr. Chenevix was told by his patron that he would then be obliged to preach in French as well as in English. Lord Stair was the last of the English ambassadors, who had divine service performed in his chapel in the language of the country; and there is great reason to believe that lord Chesterfield would have followed the example of his predecessor, but he was not put to the trial. The distinguished manner, in which he acquitted himself of the embassy at the Hague[4], engaged the king to continue him at that place much longer than he at first intended. The personal regard which lord Chesterfield professed to his death for this worthy clergyman, and the warm sentiments of affection which the bishop of Waterford retains for the memory of his patron, do equal honor to both.

From the nature of lord Chesterfield's education, and his studious manner of life, but still much more from his intercourse

1728. with most experienced statesmen of different principles, it may be judged, that he had acquired no inconsiderable fund of political knowledge; yet he was diffident of himself, and thought it proper to recur to other helps. We have seen that a course of lectures in civil law had been the principal object of his studies at Cambridge; but these lectures, even supposing them to have been well attended by him, did not comprehend the laws and customs of other countries. Immediately, therefore, upon his arrival at the Hague, he applied to a celebrated professor [5] of the university of Leyden; and, at his recommendation, took into his house a gentleman who was perfectly well qualified to instruct him in the science both of the civil law and the Imperial code.

But lord Chesterfield was thoroughly sensible, that knowledge alone, however extensive, would avail him but little in his political career, unless adorned with other ministerial accomplishments. He wished to be a man of the world, as well as a man of business; and had strongly imbibed the idea, that labour and pleasure were not incompatible, and that the one contributed to heighten the taste of the other. His first occupation in the morning was to write his dispatches; and, as he left little for his secretary to do, he frequently staid in his room till dinner-time, unless business called him out. Sometimes he returned there in the afternoon; but, in general, like those of the famous De Witt [6], his evenings were spent in assemblies and amusements [7]. These very amusements furnished him with many opportunities, which he never neglected, of studying characters; so that, in the midst of his pleasures, he never lost sight of his main object, which was, to distinguish himself as a man of business.

In the middle of the year 1728 he arrived at the Hague. This ¹⁷²⁸ village is justly considered as the capital of the United Provinces, and, almost for these two centuries past, has been the center of the most important negotiations [8]. A foreign minister cannot be in a better school for improving his talents, and exercising his patience, both from the character of the nation, and from the nature of its constitution. As this differs, in many respects, from that of most other modern states; and as, among the ancient, none comes nearer to it than the confederacy of the Achæans; it will not be improper to insert here a short sketch of it.

It consists of seven provinces, various in extent, unequal in force, and often divided in interest. Each of the provinces is composed of several towns or cities, every one of which has its own government and laws, and is as independent of its neighbours, as the provinces are both of each other and of the state. Supreme authority resides in every part, and common interest affords the only bond of union. In order to carry on the public concerns, a certain number of deputies from each province meet, at stated times, at the Hague, and compose what is called, the Assembly of the States General [9]. The majority there decides, but only in common matters [10]. Affairs of importance, such as war, taxes, navigation, the regulation of the colonies, &c. are referred to each of the provinces; and although each of them has its own states, these cannot give their final consent till they have procured the suffrages of every one of the voting towns. This previous application to each of these single communities, and their approbation, are seldom dispensed with, except in cases where necessity takes place of law. The difficulties

1728. in obtaining this unanimity are great, and the inconveniencies attending it obvious; dispatch and secrecy can never be expected, and the door is left open for cabals and machinations. It sometimes happens, that the refusal of one small town stops a resolution; and that its consent cannot be obtained without some stipulation in favour of one of the magistrates [11]. These inconveniencies are, in great measure, prevented, when the republic has a chief, of power and influence sufficient to prevail over private interest and intrigues [12]. When there is no stadtholder, as was the case during lord Chesterfield's embassies, the great officers of state supply his place, though destitute of his power. Their acknowledged talents and experience procure them the confidence of the provinces, and their advice is generally followed. The principal of these officers bears the title of grand pensionary of Holland, and was formerly styled their advocate [13]. He is constantly appointed by the province of Holland, which, though only the second in rank, is by far the most considerable in opulence and credit [14]. The pensionary regularly attends the meeting of the States General, as well as those of his province, and he may be looked upon as prime minister [15]. It is with him that foreign ministers negotiate, and that those of the States in foreign courts correspond. He is elected only for five years; but he may be, and most commonly is, continued at the expiration of that term. The importance of this post has ever excluded from it persons of inferior abilities; and the list of those, who have filled it, contains the respectable names of Barneveldt, Catz [16], De Witt, Fagel, Heinsius [17], &c. Slingeland, an old and experienced magistrate of one of the principal towns, at the time of lord Chesterfield's embassy, occupied that

that important place; as Fagel most ably filled that of Greffier, or ^{1728.} secretary of state. With these two, but chiefly with the first, our ambassador contracted a greater intimacy than it is commonly supposed can subsist between the prime minister of one power and the ambassador of another [18]; but lord Chesterfield's own account of the nature of their connection, is sufficient to remove this seeming inconsistency [19]. "Mr. Slingeland," says he, "was the ablest minister, and the greatest man I ever knew. I may justly call him my friend, my master, and my guide, for I was then quite new in business; he instructed me, he loved me, he trusted me." The man, who having had such obligations to another, scruples not to own them, must himself be very great.

The ambassador found a most useful assistant in James Dayrolles, his majesty's resident at the Hague. The regard he had for that old and experienced minister did not cease at the death of the latter, but was transferred to his nephew, the present Mr. Solomon Dayrolles. This gentleman, who possessed his lordship's confidence and friendship, and kept up an uninterrupted correspondence with him, after having successively and most ably filled the posts of resident minister at the Hague, and minister and commissary plenipotentiary at Brussels, is now retired from public employments, and enjoys that general respect which is justly due to his services and merit.

The ministers of the other princes, who were at the Hague during the same period with lord Chesterfield, were chiefly men of eminence, who were far advanced in the political career when his lordship was commencing it. As the interests of their respective courts were very different from those of Great Britain, he was obliged to keep a watchful eye over them, to penetrate
into

1728. into their secrets, while he concealed his own, and to oppose or prevent their plans and intrigues, by supporting, at the same time, the almost irreconcilable character of their personal friend and political adversary. The *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*, which he afterwards so strongly recommended to his son, together with the *volti sciolti* & *pensieri stretti*, became rules as familiar to him as they were necessary. He conversed, without any apparent prejudice, with the heads of the opposite parties in Holland; he directed his pursuits to a constant point of view, and carried them on without heat or affectation, but with firmness and perseverance. He sometimes was best pleased when he appeared least so, and often concealed his difficulties under the mask of ease and indifference.

The marquis of Fenelon, heir to the merit as well as to the name of the author of *Telemachus* [20], had, for some years, been ambassador from the court of France, when lord Chesterfield first came to the Hague. These two noblemen were both young, possessed of similar talents, and equally desirous of distinguishing themselves. Actuated by a powerful spirit of emulation, they strove to excel each other in industry and application, as well as in politeness and splendor, and were no less attentive to support the dignity of their characters than the authority of their respective nations.

1729. Great Britain, France, and the United Provinces, were at that time engaged in one common cause. Their object was, to maintain the peace of Europe, and to extinguish the flames of a general war, which were beginning to break out. The emperor Charles VI. and Philip V. king of Spain had for a while suspended their animosities, and had entered into an alliance, in order to

to be revenged on those who interposed to prevent them from ^{1729.} pursuing their reciprocal claims. This forced the English ministers into a stricter union with those of France. The emperor being highly dissatisfied with the king of Great Britain, not merely because his majesty had declined the office of mediator between him and his rival, but more especially on account of his refusing to become a guarantee of his possessions after his death, threatened his new electoral acquisitions; and, notwithstanding the representations of the United Provinces, endeavoured to establish an East India company at Ostend. The king of Spain, on his side, finding an insurmountable opposition from the British nation to the cession of Gibraltar, which some indecisive expressions, in a letter from the late king [21], had induced him to demand, attempted the reduction of that important fortress, and refused to restore several ships illegally taken in America, as well as to give satisfaction to the Dutch on their commercial complaints.

Notwithstanding these hostile proceedings, the view of the two princes was not to break with the maritime powers; but rather to engage them, as parties, in their disputes. An establishment for the Spanish prince, Don Carlos, in Italy, had been the great object of the court of Spain, and was as warmly opposed by that of Vienna. Neither the congress of Cambray, nor that of Soissons, had been able, in the course of many years, to adjust the manner and conditions of this settlement; and nothing seemed remaining but the alternative of a rupture with either of the two courts. France could not have avoided taking part in such a war, for which she was not as yet sufficiently prepared. It was, therefore, thought proper to detach Spain from her new connections

1729. ^{connections} with the Imperial court, and to reconcile her with England and France. This was effected by the treaty concluded and signed at Seville, in the month of November 1729. An English fleet was promised to the infant of Spain, to protect the landing of six thousand of his countrymen in Italy, and to secure to him the eventual succession to Parma and Placentia.

Philip and his father, on their part, together with the French king, guaranteed all the possessions of the British crown in every part of the world, according to former treaties; and this was supposed to imply a formal renunciation of Gibraltar and Minorca. They likewise agreed to respect for the future the British trade in America, and to restore the ships that had been seized. The Dutch, at last acceding to the treaty, obtained a satisfaction with regard to their complaints; and his Catholic majesty promised to concur in the abolition of the Ostend company. He even consented, which none of his predecessors had done, to allow the States their title of high and mighty, and to treat with them, in every respect, as with crowned heads [22].

The persons concerned in this negotiation were those who had been employed as plenipotentiaries at the congress of Soissons. Colonel Stanhope was one of them; and, on account of this and other services, he was soon after created a peer, by the title of lord Harrington, and appointed ambassador to the court of Madrid. Mr. Horace Walpole, the prime minister's brother, was, however, supposed to have been principal agent in this treaty, which he ever after defended with great warmth [23]. It does not appear, that the earl of Chesterfield was concerned in this transaction, any otherwise than in giving notice of it, by order of his court, to the States General, from whom, as well as from the emperor, it

it had long been concealed. Were we to form any conjectures, ^{1729.} from the decisive part which his lordship afterwards took in the parliamentary debates relative to Spain, we should be induced to suspect, that the treaty never met with his approbation [24].

The establishment of a new East India company at Altena, under the protection of the king of Denmark, had lately been attempted. Subscriptions for it were solicited even in Holland; and the desire of gain encouraged several monied people to become adventurers in this undertaking. Great Britain could not patiently suffer, any more than the United Provinces, such a scheme to be carried into execution. The ambassador's pen was usefully employed in the support of their rights, and the masterly memoir which he composed on this occasion, in conjunction with one of the deputies of the States, was delivered by him to the Danish minister at the Hague [25]. Their opposition was successful; and this company, as well as that of Ostend, was soon afterwards entirely abolished.

Lord Chesterfield had a still greater share in a matter seemingly of less consequence, but which nearly concerned his master, as elector of Hanover. The king of Prussia had married his sister, and a new alliance between the two families, by means of a double marriage, had been proposed on the accession of George II. to the crown; and, on account of some matters of punctilio, refused [26]. "The ties of blood," says an energetic writer [27], "have but a feeble hold on princes. Thus, notwithstanding "the courts of Berlin and Hanover were so nearly related, "interest had set them at variance, not only with regard to the "affair of Mecklenburg, but also on certain family claims, at "that time unadjusted; as likewise, that there was a sort of

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1729. "rivalship between the families, and any access of interest and
 "power to the one was sure to give umbrage to the other."

Levies of men were forcibly raised in the Hanoverian dominions by Prussian emissaries; and these proceedings occasioned retaliations on the side of Hanover. The two monarchs felt themselves offended still more as private gentlemen than as sovereigns; and, as both possessed great personal bravery, the repetition of the scene between Charles V. and Francis I. was talked of. If royal disputes were suffered to be settled in this manner, contentions between crowned heads would be more rare and less destructive. In the present case, the *delirant reges plectuntur Achivi* was, for the thousandth time, likely to have been verified. The country of Hanover was threatened with an invasion, which it was but ill-prepared to resist. No assistance from England could reasonably be desired, or obtained without difficulty; as, by the act of settlement, the kingdom was not to be concerned in the wars of the electorate, and no pretence could be alledged to elude this article. Our ambassador's zeal was happily exerted in preventing the consequences of this dispute. On his application to the States, a letter was written, in their name, to the king of Prussia, to intreat him to suspend hostilities, and listen to conciliatory terms [28]. To add weight to this letter, several Dutch regiments received orders to march towards Cleves. This step had the desired effect; an arbitration was proposed and accepted; and soon after an accommodation took place, which did not, however, produce a sincere reconciliation between the brother kings.

The education of kings can hardly permit them to feel like men. Happy those, whose hearts are not insensible to the calls of gratitude and humanity! That of George II. was for the most
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part in a state of neutrality; but, if any thing could rouse him ^{1729.} from that indifference, it certainly was his native country. As his first movements were generally on the side of justice and of truth, he expressed his approbation of lord Chesterfield's conduct, with a warmth not very usual to him; and it may be presumed, that, being at Hanover, he expressed these sentiments with less reserve than he might have done in London. In that capital of his little empire, he thought himself greater than any where else, and he enjoyed in it more freedom and more happiness. He had with him none of his English ministers, except lord Townshend, who still occupied the place of secretary of state, but had lost the influence in the cabinet which he possessed under the late king. Being now reduced to act a secondary part, he wished for an opportunity of recovering his former superiority; and having secured, as he flattered himself, a private interest with his master, he thought the present instant favourable, and resolved to try the experiment, however hazardous it might be. The other secretary of state was the duke of Newcastle, formerly obnoxious to the king [29], but reconciled to him by sir Robert Walpole and the queen, who, at St. James's at least, had more than a deliberative voice. Lord Townshend attempted to remove the duke; and, in order to lessen the influence of his rival, and to increase his own, he was desirous of having his friend lord Chesterfield for his colleague. These views, however, he concealed, and only acquainted him, that, as the king appeared pleased with his negociation, he would do well, when he waited upon his majesty at Helvoet-Sluis, to desire the permission of attending him to London, on account of private business. Thus far every thing succeeded. The ambassador was graciously

1729. received by the monarch; who thanked him for his services, and readily granted his request. It may be presumed, that lord Townshend had received some encouragement from his master to persist in his scheme; but the private cabinet had not been consulted, and it was too alert and powerful not to baffle this attempt [30]. Lord Townshend, far from being able to displace the duke of Newcastle, was himself forced to resign; and lord Chesterfield, instead of being made secretary of state, saw lord Harrington succeed his friend in that office.

1730. His disappointment was, in some measure, made up to him by the place of high steward of his majesty's household [31] and the garter, which had been the supreme object of his wishes. He was installed at Windsor the 18th of June, with the duke of Cumberland, and at the expence of the sovereign, who was present at the ceremony. He soon after left England [32], and returned to his post.

Business of importance awaited him in Holland. The emperor was highly displeased, that the treaty of Seville had been concluded; and Philip V. was no less so, that it still remained unexecuted. France, since the birth of the dauphin in 1729, had renewed her old connections with the court of Madrid, and was projecting new schemes against the house of Austria. The maritime powers were accused, not altogether without reason, of having delayed the promised conveyance of the Infant into Italy.

1731. The French ambassador pressed the States to fulfil their engagements and break off with the emperor; and the Spanish ambassador at Paris openly declared, that, these engagements having been violated by the allies, his master would no longer be restrained by those he had entered into [33]. Nothing could

be more inconsistent with the interests of Great Britain than to ^{1731.} commence a war with the house of Austria. Far from desiring to destroy the only barrier against the rising and aspiring power of the Bourbons, both the English and Dutch sincerely wished it might be strengthened. The ancient system, too long neglected, was now to be revived; and the Imperial court was to be induced, by some equivalent, to desist from its opposition to the treaty of Seville. This would have been a difficult task, if particular reasons had not disposed the emperor to comply with the solicitations of his former allies. He had no male heir, and earnestly wished that his hereditary dominions might, after his death, pass undivided to one of his daughters. Such an arrangement had been long before proposed, and was called the pragmatic sanction. By the French it was rejected at the congress of Soissons, for this plain reason, that it was contrary to their views ever since the administration of cardinal Richelieu. The British cabinet at the same time, though strongly solicited by the Imperial court, declined entering into this engagement. But circumstances were altered; the political mist began to disperse, and the ministry were apparently disposed to purchase, at any price, the emperor's consent, both to the Seville articles, and to the abolition of the Ostend company. A secret negotiation was accordingly set on foot at the Hague, between the British ambassador, the Imperial envoy [34], and the grand pensionary of Holland. The articles, being settled among the three ministers, were sent to the court of Vienna; where, after some private stipulations in favor of Hanover, and without waiting for the deliberations of the United Provinces, the treaty was signed on the 16th of March. The consent of the States to the treaty was

1731. afterwards demanded in form, and with some difficulty obtained.

This secret and important negotiation did great honor to the conciliatory talents of lord Chesterfield, who in this, as well as in several other parts of his ministry, seems to have taken Sir William Temple for his model [35]: yet, without his own account of this transaction, the great share he had in it could only have been surmised [36].

1732. There is reason to believe, that, besides these national concerns, our ambassador employed himself usefully in favour of the house of Orange. He declared to the grand pensionary [37], that, although he had received no positive orders to that effect, yet he would, to the utmost of his power, promote the views of the family, from a conviction, that the interest both of his own country and of the republic required it. His early connections with the young and amiable offspring of that house were publicly known [38]. The prince, who was then completing his studies at the university, whenever he came to the Hague, was always magnificently entertained by the earl, who kept up a constant correspondence with him, and continued, during his life, to be his well-wisher, encourager, and friend. Though he could not prevent the resolutions, by which the states of Zealand, in conjunction with those of Holland, thought proper to set aside the prince's claim to the marquises of Terver and Fleffingen, he certainly contributed a great deal to lessen the influence of the republican party. He foresaw, and earnestly advised, the re-establishment of the stadtholder, and made the first overtures of the prince's marriage with the princess royal of England, which was concluded some time after [39]. When all these facts are combined, it will scarcely be denied, that George II.

had no less personal obligations to the earl of Chesterfield than 1732.
the prince of Wales had had to lord Stanhope [40].

During lord Chesterfield's residence at the Hague, the duke of Lorrain, the intended husband to the emperor's eldest daughter, and afterwards emperor himself, made a tour through England and Holland. This young prince treated our ambassador with particular marks of distinction and friendship, on account of his warm solicitations in favour of the house of Austria. This attachment extended even to his social hours so far that he chose to be made a free-mason by lord Chesterfield, in a lodge composed of his excellency, Mr. John Stanhope his brother, Mr. Strickland nephew to the bishop of Namur [41], Dr. Defaguliers [42], and one of his friends.

To enjoy the fruits of his labors, and to recover his health, which, as well as his fortune, had been greatly impaired, lord Chesterfield desired to be recalled. His request was granted, and perhaps for the very reason that had procured him his appointment, the fear of his acquiring too great an interest with his sovereign. His disorder, which was the consequence of a fever, baffled for a long time the efforts of the physicians, and the swelling of his legs could not be dispersed in less than six months [43].

On the recovery of his health, he began to appear as a speaker in the house of lords. We have already seen that eloquence had been his favourite pursuit from his youth; and he frequently told his chaplain, before his return from his embassy, that he intended to exert all his powers to distinguish himself as an orator. He, at first, appeared to be on good terms with the prime minister [44], and supported his measures. In the debate
upon.

1732. upon the reduction of the number of troops from 18,000 to 12,000 men, he, in conjunction with the duke of Argyle, stood up one of the first to oppose it. The argument he made use of seemed to be convincing. He insisted, that the present number was barely sufficient for the security of the nation, but by no means considerable enough to inspire any fears. He professed, that he had too good an opinion of his countrymen, to think they could be enslaved by so small a body; and of the gentlemen of the army, to imagine they would be base enough to concur in such a design. However he may since have varied in his opinion concerning a standing army, he never could be persuaded to approve of a militia to replace it.

Notwithstanding these appearances of harmony and friendship, it was scarcely to be expected, that a real or lasting confidence could be established between Sir Robert Walpole and lord Chesterfield. The former dreaded a rival, the latter could not brook a superior. The art of obliging was too well known to the earl, too little to the minister. Absolute dependence was expected by the one, and could not be submitted to by the other. An opportunity soon offered, which discovered both their dispositions. The excise scheme [45] proposed by the minister, perhaps with a view to the interest of his country, was principally disliked from an apprehension, that it might add to his power, at the same time that it increased the revenue. It was represented as an infringement upon national liberty, as well as private security and honor. An universal clamor was raised throughout the kingdom; the court experienced an almost total desertion; and, finding some of its firmest friends on the side of opposition [46], was at last obliged

obliged to yield, though with reluctance; and the minister 1732. narrowly escaped being involved in the fate of his bill.

This was the decisive moment in which our earl openly declared himself against the ministry. He expressed, in the strongest terms, his disapprobation of the scheme, and his three brothers voted against it in the house of commons. Unable to stem the impetuosity of the torrent, Sir Robert gave way to it, and by this prudent conduct, at the same time that he preserved, or rather increased, his influence with the ruling power, he detected and rendered ineffectual the projects of his enemies. To themselves alone their victory was fatal; and the minister, though in general not of a vindictive turn, thought proper, if not to inspire terror, at least to excite a degree of caution by some examples of severity.

The two noblemen who first experienced the effects of his resentment were lord Clinton [47] and lord Chesterfield. Some regard was paid to the latter, at least in appearance; and, to avoid the odium of displacing him, endeavours were used to induce him to resign. But his lordship's intentions were different; he would listen to no solicitations, and, with a view of becoming popular, was determined to suffer himself to be turned out. The excise bill was given up on the 11th of April, and the 13th was fixed for the earl's removal [48]. That day, as he came from the house of lords with the earl of Scarborough, and was going up the great stairs at St. James's, he was stopped by one of the duke of Grafton's servants, and told, that his grace had been that morning at his house, and wished to see him there, on business of importance. The earl's chariot not being at hand, he was carried home by his friend, and immediately followed by the

1732. duke of Grafton; who informed him, that he came by the king's order to demand the surrender of his white staff. His lordship cheerfully complied; and, without attempting any apology for his conduct, begged of his grace to assure his majesty, that he was ready to sacrifice every thing for his service, except his honor and conscience. Two days afterwards he wrote to the king, and expressed the same sentiments. This letter certainly did not lessen the resentment of a monarch, who, by his contemporaries, is allowed to have been no dissembler. Lord Chesterfield took the first opportunity of going to court; but he was so far from being graciously received, that, contrary to his former intentions, he never again appeared in the royal presence, till the necessity of the times occasioned his recall. His place of lord steward was immediately after disposed of in favour of the duke of Devonshire.

The *eclat*, which attended the earl's dismissal, was still increased by the manner in which it was announced to the public. While the ministerial papers represented it in a light unfavourable to his lordship, the political publication, so well known under the name of *The Craftsman*, and in which lord Bolingbroke, together with Mr. Pulteney and several other persons of rank, on the side of opposition, were concerned, spared no pains to interest the nation in his favor. The author, after enumerating his lordship's services and eminent qualifications, concluded his account in the following words [49]. "The world seems greatly astonished at so unexpected an event; and those who are most zealous for the present royal family, grieve to see so able and faithful a servant dismissed in so critical a conjuncture." These inflaming expressions were highly offensive to

to the administration, and were accordingly severely criticised in one 1732. of the papers under their controul [50]. The writer exclaimed against the indecency of calling the king to an account for the choice of his servants; and upbraided the earl, or his friends, with ingratitude, after having received so many marks of royal favor. Some misbehaviour or mistake, he said, might have necessitated his majesty to remove one whom he had so particularly distinguished; and he even hinted, that the reasons for this removal might be disclosed, if the authority of the house of lords, and the fear of an action for *scandalum magnatum*, did not deter the boldest man from speaking the truth of a peer, if to his disadvantage. Such illiberal insinuations engaged lord Chesterfield to send a message, in writing, to an anonymous author, who, in any other respect, would have been unworthy of his notice. He very nobly and politely set him at defiance, and gave him leave, freely to say what he knew, or what he pleased of him [51]. This public call, however, had no other effect than to draw, from the author, an evasive answer, for which he was severely lashed in some of the subsequent *Craftsmen* [52].

As lord Chesterfield had not stood single in the offence, neither was he the only object of resentment. The lords Cobham, Stair, and Westmoreland, who had declared their sentiments in the same manner, came to him immediately after his dismissal, and made him the offer to surrender directly the employments they held under the crown. This he politely declined; and advised them, even for the sake of the cause, to put the minister to the trouble of taking away their places. They accordingly were soon after dismissed; and with the duke of Montrose, the earl of Marchmont, and the earl of Burlington, considerably increased, in the house of lords, the party of the opposition.

S E C T I O N IV.

1732. **I**N all states, where the management of public affairs, though committed to the care of a few, is subject to the controul of the many, differences of opinion and of party must necessarily arise. Where senates and public assemblies can give or refuse their assent to the demands of a court; and, what is of more consequence, where they have the power of withholding or dispensing the wealth of the nation, each vote acquires a value, and every man rises in estimation, in proportion to his abilities or credit. The authority of the minister depends on the superiority of his talents, or the extent of his influence: and as it is impossible he should preserve his power at court, but by his interest in the *money-giving house*, as lord Chesterfield somewhere expresses it, he can hardly maintain his ground, unless he find some method of attaching to the court the majority of the members.

Opposition, therefore, must always be a minority, and, as political questions seldom admit of certainty, and frequently are of no great importance, honest men may divide on either side, and vote for or against the ministry, with a sincere belief that they are acting for the good of their country [1].

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James Oglethorpe

Painted by Sir J. Smith

Engraved by W. B. Smith 1777.

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In general it may be presumed, that the person at the helm^{1732.} means to steer right; and that, if he is sometimes engaged in a wrong course, his error proceeds more from necessity than inclination. His wisest schemes are frequently opposed; he finds himself obliged to accomplish his designs by indirect means, and, as he ventures on hazardous experiments, those who create his perplexities are ever ready to triumph in his mistakes, and make their profit of his losses.

Administration commonly acts under one head; opposition has all the disadvantages of anarchy and confusion. Popularity, or the affectation of it, is the aim of the leaders. Obtained with difficulty, it is not to be preserved but by unremitted industry. All who are led by vanity, interest, or caprice, to imagine themselves of consequence to their country, enlist under the banners of patriotism. Their army is generally composed of troops, which, with unequal discipline and different expectations, engage on the same side with no other view than that of sharing the spoil after victory, or of supplanting each other in the division. Each chief is flattered, and no one harshly rejected. Hence every day produces new plans, new allotments of office, new expedients to retain the wavering [2], new attempts to recover the lost.

Add to all this, that the minister is master of his ground. He chuses his opportunities, and, never unprepared himself, has many assistants at hand to supply him with arguments and facts. The opposer commonly sees but in part, has often short notice, and can hardly ever divide the business in a proper manner among his associates. Yet, notwithstanding the disadvantages arising from his situation, prejudices, and resentments, a popular tribune,
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1732. in a country like this, is a most useful man. Ever on the watch, he awes ministers into vigilance and circumspection, and if he does not defend the constitution from every wound, he secures it from such as might prove incurable and fatal.

It is difficult for a writer, engaged in a work like this, to divest himself entirely of prejudice. Truth is often inscrutable, and, when discovered, cannot always be imparted with safety. All that can be expected is, that he should make use of the best materials he can find [3]; that he should steer a middle course between the opposite accounts, and enable as well as desire his readers to judge for themselves.

1733. For twelve years the minister had reigned without much opposition; but the year of the excise-bill was the last of his tranquillity. The opposition had gained an advantage, and, from their present triumph, were encouraged to attempt fresh attacks. The officers of the South Sea company, who, notwithstanding their delinquency, were supposed to be favored by the minister, were called upon to produce their accounts; which were found both confused and defective. The disposal of the forfeited estates of the late directors was likewise inquired into, and the conduct of administration, in respect to this disposal, was severely, though unsuccessfully, arraigned. Great fault was found with the manner of bringing into parliament the bill for settling a portion upon the princess royal of England, now engaged to the prince of Orange. In these several debates, lord Chesterfield bore a principal part, and he joined in one of the protests.

No sooner was his lordship freed from the shackles of a court, than he submitted to the chains of matrimony. He had,

indeed, fallen into some gallantries before. From one of his ^{1733.} connections, during his embassy in Holland, he had a son, who soon became the object of his fondness as well as of his cares. But his serious addresses had, many years before, been paid to Melosina de Schulenburg, a young lady belonging to one of the most considerable families in Germany [4]. Niece to the dutchess of Kendal, she had been particularly distinguished by the late king, and was created by him, in 1722, a peeress of Great Britain, under the titles of countess of Walsingham and baroness of Aldborough. Her fortune was suitable to her rank; and the amiableness of her character, the accomplishments of her mind, her taste for the fine arts, and in particular for music, rendered her a fit companion for lord Chesterfield. By her tenderness and virtues, she merited all the returns he could make; and by her prudent management, she helped to retrieve and improve his long-neglected estate. On changing her condition, she did not leave the dutchess of Kendal; and lord Chesterfield, who was their next neighbour in Grosvenor-square, most constantly divided his time between his business in his own house, and his attentions and duties at the other. Minerva presided in the first; and in the last, Apollo with the muses.

A voluntary exile from the royal presence, lord Chesterfield had not neglected assiduously to pay his respects to the prince of Wales, and was particularly well received at his court. His royal highness immediately sent his compliments to the new-married pair, and his attendants followed his example. The prince of Orange likewise, who, towards the end of the year, came over to England, on account of his own nuptials, did not neglect the friend to whom he was chiefly beholden for that fortunate event.

1733. event [5]. He found him in a very different situation from that in which he could have wished to see him at court; but though surrounded with courtiers, and exposed to the risk of exciting displeasure, he shewed his affection and esteem to the late ambassador by every mark of confidence and regard [6]. A dangerous indisposition his highness was seized with, retarded, for several months, the celebration of the nuptials, which only took place in the month of March of the next year.

1734. Sir Robert Walpole's antagonists had flattered themselves that the period of his disgrace was now at hand. They imagined, that the nation was sufficiently incensed; and, as the first parliament under this reign was within a year of its dissolution, they resolved to try their interest by a new popular exertion. It was thought, that the repeal of the septennial bill would meet with but little resistance from the members who wished to secure the favor of their constituents at the ensuing election. In this, however, the leaders of the opposition were disappointed. Though several of the members who, eighteen years before, were the promoters of this bill, now spoke against it, they were still outnumbered. Sir William Stanhope and his brothers were in the minority.

The opposition had no better success in the house of peers, though equally sanguine in its hopes. Lord Chesterfield took the earliest opportunity of declaring himself. He desired, that no words or expressions, employed in the address of thanks for the king's speech, should afterwards be made use of, either for or against any proposition that might be made, or any question that might arise in the house. The meaning of this declaration was

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soon evinced by the active part which he took in the subsequent 1734. debates.

The most important of these was occasioned by the removal of the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham from their regiments. These lords were supposed to have been dismissed, or, as our witty earl expressed it, whispered out of their commissions, merely on account of their not complying with the desires of the minister. A motion was made by the duke of Marlborough to restrain this power, which had constantly been exercised by the crown, and seemed inherent to the prerogative. The bill which he proposed was intended to prevent, for the future, all officers, above the rank of colonels, from being deprived of their commissions, otherwise than by judgment of a court martial, to be held for that purpose, or by address of either house of parliament. Of the several lords, who spoke in favor of the bill, none expressed himself with more warmth than lord Chesterfield [7]. He was complimented on that occasion by the duke of Argyle, who, being then still a courtier, opposed both the bill, and the motion, which immediately followed, for presenting an address to his majesty, in order to be informed, by whose advice, and for what crimes, the two lords had been removed [8]. The fate of the bill decided that of the motion; both were rejected, and our earl joined in the protests that were drawn up by the considerable and respectable minority who divided on this occasion.

Nothing proves more evidently than this transaction with what different eyes persons, equally well-meaning, may view the same objects. Lord Chesterfield seems to have been as sincere in his approbation of this bill, as his bosom friend, lord Scarborough, was in his opposition to it. And yet, when in the

1734. last reign a similar bill was drawn up by the late earl Stanhope, it had been equally approved by the two friends. The reasons and the occasion that induced them to think differently upon the same subject, are not known. Perhaps their various situation in life may have produced this effect. Lord Scarborough, being himself an officer, undoubtedly had better opportunities of being informed of every thing that had any relation to the good of the service; and he seems to have been really alarmed at the consequences which the bill, however well calculated to lessen ministerial influence, might have had in promoting military independency. It was in that light that he considered the question: fearing, however, lest it should be suspected, that the desire of keeping his places, both in the army and at court, had biased his judgment, he previously waited on the king, and having declared his motives, with great earnestness begged that he might be permitted to resign. His majesty pressed him a considerable time to desist from his resolution, and, finding him unalterably fixed, at last told him, "My lord, there is an employment you cannot in honor give up, which is your regiment; for you know, as well as I, we are upon the eve of a war." This argument prevailed with his lordship; he contented himself with resigning his place of master of the horse, and, on coming down from the closet, ordered a chair to be called, and dismissed the king's equipage [9]. Being thus free to declare for the court, without incurring the suspicion of being prompted to it by undue motives, he not only gave his vote against the second reading of the bill; but, notwithstanding the eloquent exertions of his friend, he made a motion to have it rejected, in order to prevent the like attempts for the future. His reasons

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were delivered with great strength and precision; but whether ¹⁷³⁴ they occasioned any alteration in lord Chesterfield's opinion is less certain than that they produced none in his sentiments for so respectable a friend.

A message from the king, for a vote of credit, having been presented at the close of the session, met in both houses with a considerable opposition. A war had broken out in Europe, and its flames threatened to spread over this island. Prudence required that the nation should be prepared at all events; and the minister would have been culpable, had he neglected the means of putting the kingdom in a proper state of defence. It was particularly necessary to guard any attempts that might be made during the time of anarchy and confusion always attending new elections. Obvious as these reasons seemed to be, they did not make an equal impression upon all the members. Lord Chesterfield, who happened to be again in opposition to the duke of Argyle, distinguished himself in his answer to his grace. He said, that " what was demanded was not in the least necessary
" for the support of the king and the safety of the nation,
" though it might be necessary for the support of ministerial
" schemes, and for the support of ministerial personages.
" Coming at the end of the long session of a long parliament,
" it appeared to him in the same light as if an application
" should be made to a man on his death-bed, to bequeath all he
" has in the world to those who are utter strangers to him, nay
" who have been generally reputed his greatest enemies." He owned, indeed, what was more fully insisted upon by lord Hardwicke, who made a short and nervous reply to his lordship, that by the constitution the kings always had a sort of dictatorial

1734. power, during the intervals of parliament, in case of any sudden or unexpected danger, to provide for the preservation of the commonwealth; but he pretended, that the asking for such a power before-hand looked suspicious, and, to illustrate his meaning, had recourse to this farcical comparison: "No man
 " will refuse to let an infant of a good estate have whatever may
 " be necessary for his subsistence. For this he has no great
 " occasion for any letter of credit from his guardians; but, if
 " these should be such fools, or such unfaithful guardians, as to
 " give him an unlimited letter of credit, for borrowing whatever
 " he himself might think necessary for his subsistence, it would
 " certainly tend to throw him into extravagance, and make him
 " a prey for usurers and extortioners."

1735. It may be presumed, that the opposition would have been less strenuous, in obstructing the views of government, could they have been convinced, that these views were really for the good of the nation. This they pretended to doubt; and lord Chesterfield, as well as his friends, went so far as to affirm, that the vessel of Great Britain was steered by the Hanoverian rudder. The ground of their apprehensions will, in some measure, appear from the following account of the state of Europe at that time.

The stipulations of the last treaty of Vienna seemed to imply an obligation to assist the house of Austria, whenever its possessions, already much lessened, should be further invaded. The Dutch, indeed, being more exposed to, and perhaps more diffident of, their neighbours, had laid many restrictions on their accession to the treaty. The French, whose designs against their natural and ancient rivals upon the continent this treaty was

intended

intended to check, soon found an opportunity of putting the real ^{1735.} dispositions of the contracting parties to the test. On the death of Augustus I. king of Poland, his most christian majesty immediately resolved to secure that crown to his father-in-law, the unhappy competitor of the deceased monarch. The emperor, on his part, apprehending that, if Stanislaus should succeed, he should always find a dangerous neighbour in him, could not consent to his re-election. The dispute, as is usual between crowned heads, ended in an open rupture. But this war, carried on with unequal spirit and forces, was also attended with very different success. Lewis XV. the young monarch of a warlike and united nation, was prepared, and certain, as he was said to be, of the good wishes of Hanover, and of the connivance at least of the British ministry [11], formed an offensive alliance with the kings of Sardinia and Spain, in order to attack his enemy in several parts at once. The declining head of the empire, Charles VI. on the contrary, found, in the unwilling guarantees of his possessions, importunate monitors and irresolute friends. In vain did he solicit his natural allies to support him in so disadvantageous a contest, and to maintain what was called the balance of Europe. In vain, to avoid appearing the aggressor, did he abstain from the first hostilities, and leave it to Russia to oppose Stanislaus, and to settle the elector of Saxony upon the Polish throne: these precautions did not disarm his enemies, nor procure him the assistance of his friends. The Dutch, under perpetual apprehensions for their barrier, which the imperial court could not, and the British ministry would not, provide with sufficient troops [12], willingly embraced a neutrality; a state which is always preferred by that wise republic, and

1735. and was particularly their choice at that time, from the fear of being obliged to create a new stadtholder. This neutrality was either the cause or the pretence why the British ministry only interfered by vague proposals and offers of mediation, which were flighted. The minister, in the mean while, did not neglect to provide for the security of the kingdom. Every year he applied for fresh parliamentary supplies; he fitted out squadrons; and took six thousand Danes into British pay, for the same useful purposes, which, some years before, had occasioned the hiring of twelve thousand Hessians. He carried this precaution still further, and, to prevent an invasion from powers whose interest it was by no means to attempt one, he every year increased the number of national troops.

1736. Such exertions of strength, equally vain and wasteful, were not assented to without great opposition in both houses. Lord Chesterfield, convinced that these successive augmentations could have but one use, attacked them, not only with the power of eloquence, but with the shafts of ridicule. With a satyrical vein of pleasantry, almost peculiar to himself, he exposed in a periodical paper [14] the harmless disposition both of the ministers and the troops. The scheme of a wax army, moving by clock-work, and answering all the uses of a real one, was worthy of Swift's pen; and, if I am not misinformed, the dean saw, approved, and wished to have been the writer of it.

During the course of this political struggle, lord Chesterfield had the misfortune of losing his brother Charles Stanhope. Though the youngest, he was not the least beloved; and, indeed, by the accounts I received from the countess of Chesterfield, his character must have been most amiable. By his death a considerable
estate

estate devolved to Mr. John Stanhope, whose sole dependence 1736. hitherto had been upon the earl.

After a long negotiation, a treaty was at length concluded between the contending powers. The house of Bourbon was a great gainer by the war; and that of Austria an equal loser by the peace. Lorrain, a considerable province, capable of maintaining an army of thirty thousand men, hitherto governed by its own sovereigns, though, from its vicinity, most commonly under the influence or in the power of France, was now, forever, annexed to that crown. King Stanislaus obtained the enjoyment of it, during his life, as an equivalent for Poland; and the former duke of Lorrain, in virtue of this cession, procured the reversion of Tuscany after the death of the old duke, the last of the Medicis family, together with the hand of the eldest arch-duchess. The king of Spain's eldest son made a most advantageous exchange of two dutchies for two kingdoms, Parma and Placentia for Naples and Sicily; the king of Sardinia somewhat extended his territories; and, as a compensation for so many sacrifices, the emperor obtained from his rivals the long-wished-for guarantee of the pragmatic sanction.

It would take much time, and afford little entertainment, to specify and explain the several subjects of debate between the ministers and their antagonists in the course of this and the preceding year. Some were temporary or local; others, the result of former, or the foundation of future, deliberations; and all, though at the time magnified by party, are now become too inconsiderable to be mentioned any where but in general history, where the foibles and inconsistencies of mankind are faithfully and minutely recorded. Strong things were, as usual, said by
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1736. the minority [15]; and, as usual, the majority endeavoured to assist the designs of the minister.

1737. Very different sentiments were entertained by the heads of the opposition. As their object was to embarrass the ministry, and to inflame the people, the questions which were started were such as, if decided to their wish, must lessen the influence of the court, and, if rejected, must increase the popular clamor. This was plainly the case in the proceedings occasioned by a tumult that was excited about this time in Edinburgh. Mr. Porteus, a captain of the city-guard, had been tried and condemned to death, for having too hastily ordered his men to fire, and having fired himself, upon a mob that attempted to rescue a smuggler from the gallows. As there appeared, on the captain's trial, several circumstances in his favour, a reprieve was obtained for him upon the representation of the judges. But the people were not satisfied; and, at the instigation, or at least with the connivance of some designing men, they assembled in a seditious manner. They forced the gates of the jail, dragged out the unfortunate prisoner, and hanged him in the same place where the smuggler had suffered. This was not a mere riot; it bore the marks of design and deliberation; and, though some of the facts might have been exaggerated, a mutinous disposition could not be disowned. The same spirit had of late shewn itself in several parts of the kingdom; and a daring, though puerile, insult upon government had been committed in Westminster-hall [16]. It became, therefore, necessary to punish as well as to check these violent attempts against the peace of society. The case of the Edinburgh riot was brought into parliament; the debates lasted five months, and lord Chesterfield was concerned in some

some of them. By one of the parties, this act of violence was ^{1737.} represented as the natural consequence of national discontent; by the other, as the effect of wicked combinations. These ascribed the cause to the measures of government; those to the incendiary writings of a disappointed faction. Despotism on one side, and jacobitism on the other, were introduced in this dispute, with as much reason as they are in every other political controversy. The ministry were driven to the disagreeable alternative, either of giving up the assistance of military force, which sedition made more and more necessary, or of disobliging a part of the nation, already too much suspected of disaffection. Some of the Scotch members, hitherto, the best friends to the reigning powers, expressed their indignation on seeing the judges compelled to appear at the bar of the house of lords, the magistrates of their capital stigmatized, and the city deprived of some of its privileges. The manly sense and humane disposition of lord Hardwicke prevented a too violent stretch of power. That great magistrate, (who, though constantly attached to the court, and most commonly engaged in parliamentary altercations with lord Chesterfield, was, according to his lordship's judgment, not only an agreeable and eloquent speaker, but a most clear and instructive reasoner) maintained on this occasion, as well as on many others, the just prerogative of the crown, without extending it to the oppression of the people. A due regard was paid to the articles of the Union, and the heaviest parts of the sentence were mitigated in the house of commons. But yet this unfortunate affair is thought to have left or increased, among several of the inhabitants, a spirit of disaffection, which broke out, a few years after, at the time of the rebellion.

1737. Thus did the persons who governed grow weaker even from their victories, and, while all-powerful at court and in parliament, find themselves every where else distressed and literally outwitted. The times were no more, when a Dryden or a Swift, in support of ministers and courts, alone faced legions, and fought them with advantage. The superiority of writing, as well as of speaking, was universally judged to be on the side of the opposition. Promises and rewards, it was said, might procure votes, but could neither create or purchase eloquence and genius [17]. From the epic poem [18] to the ballad [19], and from the elaborate dissertation [20] to the periodical sheet [21], every engine of argument or wit was levelled against the present administration. This had, and always will have, its effect; a few instances of severity against some of the most unguarded offenders [22], could not restrain the greater number; and the popular writers in general succeeded in raising the indignation of the people, and even their laughter, which was still of more consequence.

The stage itself began to be made use of, as it was in the time of the Athenian common-wealth, to serve the purposes of faction, and spread personal satire; and, as one abuse generally paves the way for another, virtue and decency were no more respected than government. To check this growing evil, and put a stop to the impiety and licentiousness which some of the dramatic writers had been guilty of, a bill was brought in, and with great expedition passed, towards the end of the session, in both houses. By this bill, the new pieces were submitted to the examination of the lord chamberlain for the time being, and could not be exhibited upon the stage without his licence.

Though this act, which certainly was no innovation, might be a ^{1737.} proper one, yet it seemed ill-timed, precipitate, and liable to many inconveniencies. The persons in opposition did not fail to represent it as an incroachment upon the natural rights of a free people, and a step towards attacking the liberty of the press. They exclaimed, that honest ministers had nothing to fear from the strokes of satire; that bad ones ought not to be screened from the only punishment that could reach them; and that the laws of the country were sufficient to guard against excesses [23]. Lord Chesterfield took up the cause of liberty with his usual vivacity, and, without preparation, support, or contradiction, he stood forth as the advocate of letters and of wit. His speech was received with universal applause; and, though printed incorrectly, and without the assistance of his own finishing hand, it has stood the test of time, and will, probably, be handed down to posterity, as one of the finest specimens of British eloquence [24]. Though this speech did not hinder the bill from passing into a law, it has contributed to prevent the abuse that might have been made of it, in restraining the powers of genius, and serving the purposes of ministerial pique or personal dislike.

The ministry were now surrounded with enemies, not only without, but even within the palace. The principal of these was the heir to the crown. Long displeased with his father's counsellors, and dissatisfied on account of the little share he was allowed to have in the conduct and even knowledge of public affairs, the prince of Wales took no pains to conceal his disgust. He might, perhaps, have stifled his resentment, had not the person who presided at the helm forced him to become his

1737. dependent or his enemy. His connections were represented as inconsistent with his duty to the king; his favorites were ill-treated, and he was desired not to see those who had made themselves obnoxious to the court. Self-interest concurred with ambition to widen the breach. Generosity, in settling the prince's income, might have brought on an accommodation; parsimony precluded every hope of this kind. The king would not allow his son, who was now married, and might expect a family, the same revenue he himself had enjoyed in a similar situation; and the offer of one-half, or fifty thousand pounds, was rejected with spirit by the prince, who had recourse to a dangerous, and by the event, an ineffectual expedient.

He applied to the heads of the opposition, and a motion was made by them in both houses, that his majesty might be desired to settle on his son annually the sum of one hundred thousand pounds out of the civil list. They were foiled in the attempt, and, indeed, could not expect to succeed. But their chief design was answered; an open rupture was now declared between the prime minister and the prince. The former could not but feel the influence of so powerful an enemy; and the opposition secured to themselves, together with the patronage of the immediate successor, an increasing interest with the people. The strong protest, which was entered in the house of lords on this occasion, was signed, if not penned, by lord Chesterfield.

It might have been prudent in the ministry to have been contented with this temporary success. The prince's resentment was sufficiently raised; but the exertion of it was, for the present, rendered difficult and precarious. A court, deprived of the means of rewarding its attendants, can attach only those who are in expectation

expectation of a change, and futurity seldom makes considerable ^{1737.} impressions upon courtiers. Great restraints were laid upon the prince in his father's palace, and he could not avoid being watched or even thwarted in his actions. But this was not thought sufficient. Fear, or the spirit of revenge, induced the minister to carry his point still further. He imagined that, by greater severity, he should either force his royal antagonist to submission, or render him inconsiderable in the eyes of his attendants. The king was made to resent a trifling neglect of his son; no regard was shewn to his excuses and intreaties; peremptory orders were sent him to part with all his friends, or quit his father's house; and he was even refused the satisfaction of seeing his mother on her death-bed.

Queen Caroline died at the end of this year, of a cruel disorder, which, being too long concealed, terminated in a painful and fatal operation. She bore the one and the other with fortitude and resignation, and was sincerely regretted by the king. As our earl had, for many years, been no greater favorite with her than his patron lord Townshend, he cannot be expected to have been much affected by her loss, or partial to her memory. Notwithstanding this, he allowed her personal graces, accomplishments of the mind, address, resolution, and perseverance. She possessed more learning than commonly falls to the share of her sex, and was every day endeavouring to increase it. Men of science were encouraged by her [25]; she enjoyed their conversation, and wished to have a place among them. Philosophy and politics were her constant study, and she took a pride in shewing her superiority in both. Her sway over the king was founded on the opinion he had of her merit, and she improved her power

1737. by her compliance with his wishes. The art by which she governed was known to every body but himself. Upon the whole, she had more admirers than friends, and exchanged the character of an amiable queen for that of a great one.

The opposition had now acquired, what they wanted before, a head equally able and willing to give them weight and support. They furnished him with the means, and he lost no opportunities of improving his talents and increasing his popularity. Less partial to his native soil than his father and grandfather had been, he professed a generous love for liberty [26], and a just reverence for the British constitution. His heart was as open to the sentiments of benevolence, as his mind to the impressions of truth. Those, who appeared animated with the same sentiments, merited his approbation, and shared his favor. He particularly declared himself the patron of men of genius and of wit. Letters and arts, banished from court, found a refuge under his roof; and poets, thus encouraged, proclaimed a new Augustus. Lyttelton was his philosopher and friend [27], Glover became his Virgil, and Pope would have been his Horace. Thomson and Mallet expressed the hopes of the nation, and their own, in the masque of Alfred, composed by his order, and acted in his house. The tragedy of Mustapha, and that of Gustavus Vasa, were intended to interest the people in his favor; but were both prohibited by the licenser, under the sanction of the last act of parliament.

As none of the enemies of the ministry had contributed more than lord Bolingbroke to destroy their popularity, the prince of Wales became desirous of a more particular connection with him. He professed the greatest regard for his lordship, and gave him room to hope, that he would one day fulfil his grandfather's intentions

intentions towards him [28]. In return for these expressions of ^{1737.} confidence and friendship, his lordship wrote, for the use of the presumptive heir to the crown, his Idea of a Patriot King, an idea which a succeeding reign was happily reserved to realize.

Lord Chesterfield had long before enjoyed a considerable share in the prince's esteem and favor; and it is probable, that he was one of the persons whom his royal highness had been desired to give up. If I am not misinformed, the earl's principal view in this connection was to promote his favorite scheme; though it might not, in every respect, have been equally well received, nor indeed equally adviseable and convenient. He wished to see the electorate and the kingdom separated from each other, and allotted to different branches of the royal family; and endeavoured to convince the successor of the incompatibility of the two titles. Experience induced him to believe, that the prejudices of youth in favor of the native soil were unconquerable; and he conceived, that, whenever a war broke out, Hanover would be attacked, and Great Britain become the (*vache à lait*), milch cow, or money-giving province. He considered the want of a provision to obviate this inconvenience as a defect in the act of settlement; and declared, that such a scheme would not only tend to the preservation and advantage of both countries, but would confirm and secure the royal family upon this throne, by the gratitude and affection of their people. He humorously added, that by that separation the maxim *divide et impera* would be literally accomplished [29]. Could it escape his lordship's piercing eye, that time alone might possibly effect a change, and naturally turn the scale on the other side?

As

1737. As the next parliamentary campaign was likely to be an active one, a place of meeting was appointed by the anti-ministerial party, for mustering their forces, and settling their plan of operations.

Bath was the spot fixed upon for that purpose; and a more convenient one could not have been chosen. This elegant town much resembles the Bajæ of the luxurious Romans. Like that, it is distinguished by its waters, its magnificence, and its pleasures. It is there that, twice a year, health, diversions, politics, and play, attract what is called the best company. To this place the prince carried his princess, soon after the birth of her first child. An event so interesting to the nation afforded a favorable opportunity of assembling his friends, and concealing business under the appearances of festivity and joy. The royal and much-beloved pair received the homage of the numerous concourse of people of every rank, who flocked thither to make use of a liberty they were restrained from in the capital [30]. Sumptuous entertainments were given by the corporation, under the direction of the famous Nash. Lord Chesterfield did the honors of the place, and his servants were employed to attend.

Having had occasion to mention the name of Nash, a circumstance occurs to me, which, I hope, I may be allowed to insert here, as it furnishes a fresh instance of lord Chesterfield's judgment, and of the keenness of his wit. It is well known, that this vain, though useful, superintendent of public pleasures first introduced order and elegance in places of entertainment; and, on account of the authority he was indulged to assume, was stiled the king of Bath. In consideration of his services, the corporation resolved to give him a public and durable mark of their gratitude and regard. A full-length picture of
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the mock monarch was made at their expence, and placed in the 1737. pump-room, between the busts of Newton and Pope. The want of judgment that directed, and the vanity that accepted such a monument, were severely lashed in the following lines, written by the earl.

Immortal Newton never spoke

More truth than here you'll find;

Nor Pope himself e'er penn'd a joke

Severer on mankind.

This picture, plac'd the busts between,

Gives satire all its strength;

Wisdom and wit are little seen,

While folly glares at length.

More important subjects had for some time engaged the 1738. attention of the public. The nation had enjoyed peace about five and twenty years; for it can scarce be said, that peace was interrupted by the half wars of 1718 and 1727. A state of tranquillity so desirable, especially for a commercial people, had been the constant object of Walpole's administration. The improvement of manufactures, as well as the increase of trade and wealth, which mark this period, will incline posterity to be more equitable than their predecessors, in judging of a man, whose most unpardonable fault was to have kept his rivals out of his place so long. They imputed to pusillanimity and selfishness his pacific dispositions; they exposed the partial and contracted views with which the negotiations abroad had been conducted; and they exclaimed, that the large sums raised for

1738. the sake of preventive and defensive measures were not applied to the best uses, the discharge of the national debts, and the preservation of the national rights.

The catholic king, or rather his queen, had, for a long time, shewed a disregard for the nation which, of all others, it is the chief interest, and in general the inclination, of the Spaniards to keep well with [31]. It cannot be denied, but that some provocations had been given by English traders as well as by those of other nations. But the means employed by the Spanish ministry to procure redress were not such as justice could authorize, or British honor overlook. Jealousy, resentment, and, perhaps, bigotry, seem to have had a great share in several instances of violence and animosity which were then exercised. For above twenty years, the Spanish *guarda costas* in America had been impowered to stop the English traders in the open seas, or at least within sight of their coasts, to search and seize both cargoes and ships; to imprison the crews, and often to treat them in a barbarous manner. Vain and ineffectual had been the representations of our court, and such will representations ever be, when unsupported by those means which a great maritime power can never want to defend its rights. The Spaniards, unrestrained in their hostile proceedings, had, on many occasions, added contumely to offence. Their depredations were become excessive, and their captures were valued at half a million. Encouraged by the supineness of the British ministry, and instigated by the active industry of the French, they publicly laid claim to Georgia and part of Carolina, and interrupted not only the general commerce, but also that particular branch stipulated by the treaty of Utrecht, and known by the name of the *Asiento contract* [32].

At

At last, the nation was roused by these repeated insults. The ^{1738.} clamors of the merchants were heard throughout the kingdom. The voice of humanity, in favor of the sailors, was too loud to be stifled. Applications to parliament were made from the metropolis and other trading cities; and neither peers nor commons could any longer refuse their interposition. In consequence, the two houses presented addresses to the king, expressing the wishes of the nation, and their own sense of the justice of the complaint. The answer was favorable. His majesty was pleased to promise, that, either by negotiation or by arms, an adequate satisfaction should be procured for the damages sustained, and a security obtained for the freedom of navigation.

And yet the minister, unable to resolve for war, hoped to ^{1739.} prevent a rupture between the two crowns, by the parade of his armaments, and the address of his negociators. He did not wish to meet parliament, without having an honorable accommodation to produce, and found it the more difficult to bring the Spaniards to reasonable terms, as they were apprized of the necessity he was under to accept of any [33]. At last, after many procrastinations, which obliged the minister to prorogue and delay the meeting of parliament, he procured, in the beginning of 1739, a temporary treaty under the title of convention. The pompous manner in which this convention was announced, was rather a disadvantage to it; for, upon examining the articles, they were found by no means answerable to the expectations of the people and the promises of the court. This was proved by the popular lords; and, in particular, by the earl of Chesterfield, who spoke against this warlike peace, as he called it, with great force of argument, as well as eloquence and wit [34]. He probably was

1739. animated by the presence of the prince of Wales, who assisted at the debate, and thought proper, in an affair which so nearly affected the glory of the nation, to vote, for the first time, and to divide with the opposition. The arguments made use of on their side were so forcible, as to persuade several of the peers, attached to the court, to dissent from it on this occasion. Lord Scarborough, who never resisted conviction, on whatever side he found it, thought himself obliged to join the opposers, and the ministry carried their point in favor of the convention by a much smaller majority than they had procured on any other question [35]. A protest couched in very strong terms, and bearing the stamp of lord Chesterfield's manner of writing, was entered and signed by about forty peers.

The ferment occasioned by the ill-success of the preceding debate rendered the minority still more inclined to shew their disapprobation of the court measures. It was on that account particularly, that the very moderate settlement of thirty-nine thousand pounds *per annum*, for the king's younger children, proposed to be charged upon the hereditary revenues of the crown, met with any opposition. Our earl, who made a short, though severe, speech on this occasion, did not scruple to hint, that while certain branches of the royal family were provided for, at a time when the utmost oeconomy was so necessary, other branches still nearer the throne (*viz.* the offspring of the successor) remained not only unprovided but even still unprayed for.

A subsequent debate on a vote of credit to be granted to the king, gave our earl a fresh opportunity of displaying his wit at the expence of the ministers. "They seemed," he said, "to have been playing for almost these twenty years, at a sort of
" game

“ game of hazard for peace or war; and at last, by a lucky nick, 1739.
“ out started a thing they call a *convention*, which is neither the
“ one nor the other; but is to be made either the one or the other,
“ they cannot yet tell which, if we will but grant them some extra-
“ ordinary and unusual powers, for enabling them to continue
“ their game. What their future success may be, I shall not
“ pretend to divine; but I am sure, I shall never be for giving
“ unlimited credit to such awkward gamesters.”

Such as it was, however, it soon appeared, that this convention was not thought binding by the court of Madrid. They failed in the payment of the sum, which had been accepted by way of indemnification, and the meetings of the plenipotentiaries appointed to settle the articles in dispute were ineffectual. From an error, which too often has prevailed upon the continent, it was imagined, that the reluctance which the minister had shewn to pursue vigorous measures, proceeded from his diffidence of being supported by the nation; and it was also imagined, that his enemies would continue to obstruct his operations; and that the same irresolution, which had too long disgraced the British cabinet, would equally take place at sea or in the field. War was at length proclaimed on the 23d of October, with universal applause, and the nation rejoiced in an opportunity of undeceiving their enemies, and of recalling the glorious days of Elizabeth and Cromwell.

These expectations seemed for a time to have reconciled the 1740.
opposite parties; and if their former contentions had not been alluded to, in the king's speech, at the opening of the next session, and in the addresses of the two houses, it is not improbable, but that the minister, by complying, though late, with
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1740. the wishes of the nation, might have recovered in a considerable degree their confidence and approbation. This the earl of Chesterfield openly avowed. He said that his majesty's declaration of war had effectually healed up all the former divisions, that he not only approved of the war, but of the declaration itself, as being expressed in the most proper, the most just, and the strongest terms, that could be devised, and that if the measures now at last entered upon were pursued with equal vigour, an end, he hoped, a final end would be put to all heats and animosities. He therefore wished that all mention were dropped of past jealousies, since it now appeared that the division had been not between one party and another, but between the whole nation and the ministry. But, though he was supported in these sentiments by the earl of Scarborough, as well as by the dukes of Argyle and Bedford, he could not succeed in his endeavours, and this disappointment proved a fatal omen of what was to happen during the remainder of the session.

Lord Scarborough's conduct, in this as well as in all other debates, cannot but inspire us with the most exalted ideas of his candor, delicacy, and moderation. Strongly attached by principle to government, and by inclination to the king, he supported the ministry a long time against the efforts of those he was most intimately connected with, and lived for many years upon the best terms both with Sir Robert Walpole and with lord Chesterfield[36]. Forced at last by conviction to deviate from his former course, and to express his disapprobation of the late public measures, he did it with a becoming frankness and generosity, wishing earnestly to reconcile both parties at this interesting period,

period, and to unite them against the common enemies of their 1740. country. This attempt, however, was ill received: heads of parties seldom allow a latitude of thinking, and in affairs of state, still more than in matters of religion, intolerance is by every side disfavoured, but too constantly practised by all.

Unfortunately a nobleman equally beloved by the nation and by his friends could not long resist the struggle between his former engagements and his present feelings. A turn to melancholy, which shewed itself in his countenance, joined to an ill state of health [37], hurried him to an act of violence upon himself. The morning of the day on which he accomplished this resolution, he paid a long visit to lord Chesterfield, and opened himself to him with great earnestness on many subjects. As he appeared somewhat discomposed, his friend pressed him in vain to stay and dine with him; which he refused, but most tenderly embraced him at parting. It happened in the course of the conversation that something was spoken of which related to Sir William Temple's negotiations, when the two friends not agreeing about the circumstances, lord Chesterfield, whose memory was at all times remarkably good, referred lord Scarborough to the page of Sir William's memoirs where the matter was mentioned. After his lordship's death [38], the book was found open at that very page. Thus he seems, in his last moments, to have been still attentive to his friend, and desirous that he should know he was so. This fatal catastrophe was universally lamented, tenderly censured, and entirely excused by those who considered the unaccountable effects of natural evils upon the human mind. But what must lord Chesterfield's situation have been upon his being informed of this unfortunate event? His excellent.

1740. excellent lady does not even now without the greatest emotion speak of the manner in which his lordship, on her return home at night, acquainted her with his loss of that amiable nobleman; and he ever after lamented that he did not detain him at his house, saying he might perhaps have been saved, if he had not been left to himself that day [39].

His grief, however, did not prevent him from continuing with the same assiduity and vigour, to support the measures of opposition. It appears rather that his zeal, no longer tempered by the steady example and mild influence of his friend, but on the contrary inflamed by his untimely end, exerted itself with greater energy on every occasion. This appeared in the debates concerning a message for an extraordinary supply, sent to the house of commons in preference to that of peers. The question does not seem to have been of sufficient importance to have excited his lordship's warmth against the author of this message. But nothing from the minister could now please him, and he seemed to have adopted, in regard to Sir Robert, the sentiment expressed in the following lines of an ancient poet, of which he sent a comment in one of his letters to his son;

Non amo te, Sabidi, nec possum dicere quare;

Hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te [40].

Yet, notwithstanding the dryness of the subject, our earl enlivened it with several strokes of pleasantry and humour [41], and the compliment he paid to the young earl of Halifax, who made the motion, was equally just and delicate.

He had a much fairer opportunity of displaying his eloquence and resentment, when a bill against pensioners, which had passed in the house of commons, was brought before the lords,

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who,

who, as it was expected even by the opposite party [42], re-1740. jected it. In expressing his detestation of corruption, he cast several farcaſtical reflections againſt the man whom at all times he conſidered as the grand promoter of it. He invariably re- preſented him on that account as ſtill more dangerous to the morals than the liberties of his country.

Had the earl been capable of liſtening to miniſterial whiſpers, it was often in his power, particularly at this time, to have made whatever terms he pleaſed. I am well informed that the poſt of lord lieutenant of Ireland was from his early life the object of his ambition; and that he might have been appointed to it during the preſent adminiſtration will appear from the anecdote I ſhall here refer to [43].

National concerns did not however ſo entirely engroſs his thoughts, but he found leiſure for other purſuits. Paternal ſollici- tude warmed his heart as much as patriotic zeal. Having laid down to himſelf the plan of a rational education, he followed it through all its branches, and did not ſhew his talents in a more conſpicious light, when he ſupported the rights of a kingdom, than when he condeſcended to be the inſtructor of a child. Cheſterfield writing by choice exerciſes for the uſe of his ſon, infinitely ſurpaſſes Dionyſius driven by neceſſity to teach grammar at Corinth.

The brilliancy of his talents was equally evident in the fa- cility and variety of his compositions. From the moſt intricate political reſearches, he could in an inſtant relax to the tone of polite converſation; and I have been told, that oftentimes in a mixt company, after having diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſuperior wit and pleaſantry, he has taken up the pen and ſet down the

1740. heads of a new speech. Several of his pieces of poetry would have done honor to those distinguished writers he was so familiar with, though they were composed, as well as many of his moral and political essays, during the period of the opposition.

This wonderful ease and extent of genius was justly extolled by his contemporaries. It was particularly so in an ode inscribed to his lordship, which will be seen in the note[44].

As the war the nation was now engaged in had been foreseen for a long time, it was universally hoped that it would be carried on with such vigor as to put a speedy period to it. But either from an imperfection in the plans, or from error in the execution, the event by no means answered the expectations, or at least the wishes of the public. Powerful fleets were fitted out, several millions spent, and some damage done to the enemy; but engagements with their armadas were avoided, their flotillas remained unmolested, their possessions were respected, and the losses of trade were very nearly equal on both sides. It seemed, as lord Chesterfield expressed it, that some malignant planet hung over British counsels, and retarded or disappointed every vigorous resolution. The success and miscarriage of Vernon were equal proofs of the temerity and deficiency of our projects; and Haddock's unaccountable inaction induced the witty earl to say that the words *flagrante bello* ought to be changed into *languente bello*.

The sudden death of the head of the empire towards the end of this year, greatly changed the state of affairs in Europe and the system of the court of London. It would be difficult to give a clearer account of the immediate consequences of this unfortunate event, of the efforts that might and ought to have been exerted

exerted on this occasion, and of the mistakes and weak attempts ^{1740.} of the administration, than the following words present to us [45].

“The emperor left nothing but the pragmatic sanction for the
“security of his heirs, which proved of so little signification
“notwithstanding the great names with which it was filled,
“that almost every one of the electors, like most other
“electors, thought it a proper opportunity of making the most
“of his vote, and all at the expence of the helpless and aban-
“doned house of Austria.—But in the midst of these royal
“dreams of dominion, havoc, spoil, and plunder, the king of
“Prussia starts first into action, pleads a right, but takes pos-
“session by force, and avows a resolution to hold it by the same
“means.—The deplorable situation of the emperor’s family af-
“fected every English heart.—The pretensions of the Prussian
“monarch were limited to certain duchies and lordships in
“Silesia; and as the event proved that he would have been sa-
“tisfied with much less than he claimed, it cannot be enough
“wondered at, that ways and means had not been used to bring
“him to terms by treaty and negociation.—But instead of ex-
“periments to soften him, which might gain so potent an ally
“to assist in the preservation of the house of Austria, and
“obtain an increase of power to the protestant interest, the
“spirit of war alone prevailed against him. So little was any
“thought or desire entertained of gaining him in a friendly
“manner, and so little was apprehended from France at that
“time, that certain persons, for a while, enjoyed a scheme for
“the partition of his dominions, and a convention was actually
“formed for that purpose.”

1741. In this situation were public affairs, when a motion was made in both houses for addressing the king to remove from his councils the minister to whom the national distresses and difficulties were imputed. Lord Chesterfield was not one of the speakers in the debate which arose on this violent motion; but he divided with the fifty-eight peers who were the minority, and joined with the thirty protesters.

His health of late had been greatly impaired, and in order to retrieve it, he was advised to leave his native country for a time, and to seek in some foreign land a seasonable relief. He accordingly crossed the sea soon after the dissolution of parliament. He passed through Lisle, and had the pleasure of finding at Brussels his friend Voltaire, with whom he spent a few days, and who read to him several passages of his new tragedy of Mahomet. Hence he directed his course to Spa, the waters of which had been recommended and proved very beneficial to him. He staid about six weeks in that general rendezvous of the best and worst company of Europe, where the busy and the idle resort alike for dissipation. As he was himself eminently qualified to be a citizen of the world, he was courted and agreeably entertained by persons of different nations, distinguished by their rank and their merit. Among these was a Prussian envoy at one of the German courts. With him lord Chesterfield often conversed about his sovereign, who then began to excite universal admiration. The earl, who wished to see that prince the friend rather than the enemy of Great Britain, expressed in lively terms his opinion of him, and called him *l'homme de Prusse* (the man of Prussia). This was reported to the king, to whom lord Chesterfield's character was not unknown,

unknown, and who perhaps thought him *l'homme d'Angleterre* 1741. (the man of England). To be praised by such a judge was highly pleasing to the monarch, and he sent him a pressing invitation to come over and see him at Berlin. If the earl had not been engaged in the ministry in 1745, he intended to have undertaken that journey; and it is to be regretted that a meeting, which might have been beneficial to the interests of mankind, could not take place. The king ever after spoke with great regard of lord Chesterfield, and often said he thought him the best friend he had in England. The earl on his side seemed rather an enthusiast in his praises, not only in public conversation, but in his private letters to his son, to whom he certainly always disclosed his most secret thoughts [46].

Of all the cities in the world, Paris seemed to be that which lord Chesterfield would have chosen for his residence, if he had not been born an Englishman, and strongly attached to the constitution of his own country. He could not but dislike the form of government and political principles of the French, though in other respects he found their character the most congenial with his own. His former connections in their capital, together with those which lord Bolingbroke procured him, must have rendered that place peculiarly suited to his taste. Pressed however as he was for time, and hurried on by the ill state of his health, he could not stay there above a fortnight in going, nor much longer at his return. During these short intervals, he was a most acceptable guest in the best societies, and a partaker of their pleasures. The hotels of Coigny, Matignon, Noailles, were open to him, as well as the houses of Mad^e de Tencin [47], de Monconseil, Martel, ladies equally distinguished by their rank,

1741. rank, their merit, and their wit. He frequently saw some of
 { the principal *literati* of that country, such as Sallier, Crebillon, Fontenelle, but chiefly his old friend Montesquieu. He often remembered, when some years afterwards he was deprived of the sense of hearing, what that celebrated man, whose sight was much decayed, told him, *je sais être aveugle* (I know how to be blind); and endeavoured, though not with the same success, to be able to say, *je sais être sourd* (I know how to be deaf.)

As his lordship's health had been judged to require the assistance of a warmer climate, he used what expedition he could to reach the South of France. In his way he visited Lyons, Avignon, Aix, Nîmes, Marseilles, and Montpellier. It is with pleasure that we trace him, during the course of this journey, writing regularly to his son, then only ten years old, and giving him accounts of the most curious particulars relative to the towns he passed through, partly extracted from other travellers, and partly from his own masterly observations. He added to these some compendious geographical lectures, and began a sketch of English history, which it were to be wished he had afterwards thought proper to revise and complete.

Public affairs recalled lord Chesterfield to England sooner than he might have desired, and prevented him from enjoying, during the ensuing winter, the pure air and mild temperature of some of the finest provinces of Europe. The great events that had taken place in the summer, required the presence of all those who wished well to their country and were able to contribute to its welfare.

The house of Bourbon, which, for about a century past, had invariably pursued the project of lowering the house of Austria,

now

now seized the opportunity of completing its destruction. The 1741. electors of Saxony and Bavaria, and, soon after, the king of Spain, formed pretensions to the emperor's succession. The king of the Two Sicilies joined his power to theirs. Exasperated by the neglect with which his demands had been treated, and by the vain schemes of his rivals, the king of Prussia had acquired, by conquest, a greater extent of territory than his claims originally amounted to in Silesia, and was encouraged by the French, who, notwithstanding their known spirit of gallantry, made war against the most accomplished, as well as the most beautiful prince in Europe. Most of the other German and Italian princes had been the late emperor's secret friends; and those who were best inclined, shewed themselves but cold friends to his daughter. By the influence of her ambitious neighbours, who commanded the votes of four electors, and terrified or silenced the rest, the imperial dignity was wrested from the house of Austria, after having been considerably above four hundred years in that ancient and now almost extinct family. The elector of Bavaria, whose power as a prince could give no umbrage to France, was chosen emperor, and the queen of Hungary deprived of her possessions. Bohemia was already overpowered, the city of Prague taken, Upper Austria over-run, and Vienna menaced with a siege. A corps of French troops, posted on the confines of Hanover, threatened an invasion. The king of Great Britain, who could not be restrained from his annual visit to the capital of his electoral dominions, was obliged to sign a neutrality for one year. It was more than suspected, that this neutrality extended its influence to the operations in the Mediterranean, and that admiral Haddock had orders to permit, at least to overlook, the sailing of a Spanish squadron.

1741. dron to the West Indies, and the conveyance by sea of a Spanish army into Italy. Hungary, which received the fugitive queen with a zeal becoming a nation so faithful, though so often ill-treated, was in danger of being attacked by the Turks. Russia was prevented by a Swedish war and by intestine commotions from assisting her natural ally. The Dutch trembled for their barrier; and it was apprehended that a regard to his security might force even the king of Sardinia into the confederacy.

Thus was the balance of Europe unaccountably disturbed, and to all appearance completely destroyed; a balance, which had cost the nation so many lives to maintain, and involved it in a debt of thirty millions in the times of queen Anne; and which, during the reign of her successor, was thought of so much importance as to furnish a pretence for a multiplicity of tedious negotiations and opposite alliances. A striking instance this, among many others, of the insufficiency of treaties to confine the ambition of princes, and to secure their faith.

Those who were sincerely concerned for the liberties of their country and of mankind, found no circumstance more alarming in this revolution, than the fatal ascendancy gradually acquired, and now openly assumed by the French over the Western world. The natural strength of their empire was much increased by the opinion which they had universally inspired of their irresistible power. The fear of engaging the French king to take part openly with the other branches of the house of Bourbon in the present contest, as well as the intimations that were given of his intentions to take this part, if any considerable blow were struck in the West Indies or elsewhere, intimidated the ministry, and produced an irresolution in the British councils, and inactivity in the

the British arms. The nations which had, at first, beheld with ^{1741.} wonder, the Ocean covered with English ships, and, from the little resistance met with at Porto Bello, conceived, that the Spanish dominion in the Indies was held by a single thread [48], now accustomed to the sight of impotent efforts and harmless expeditions, turned their admiration into contempt, and their former readiness to shew their attachment to so respectable an ally into denials and distrust. France being considered as the only power worthy to be regarded, and as the sole mistress of the balance of Europe, made use of her influence to *distribute kingdoms by caprice, and exalt emperors upon her own terms* [49].

The discontents raised in Great Britain, not only by a series of miscarriages and losses, but by the clamorous representations of disappointment and revenge, did not fail to have considerable influence in the elections for the new parliament. The opinion of the public was fixed at least as to one object, and the efforts of the minister could no longer stem the torrent. There are times when corruption defeats itself, when promises and threats become equally ineffectual, and when gold itself is found to lose its weight.

The session began on the first of December; and on the fourth his majesty's speech was delivered. It was drawn up with great art; and, according to annual custom, re-echoed by complimentary addresses from both houses. This, however, did not pass without some shew of opposition in the house of peers. Lord Chesterfield, who, in his travels through other countries, never lost sight of his own; and while in pursuit of health and amusement did not neglect collecting materials, and preparing himself for business, thought it proper to shew, that his com-

1741. plaisance and partiality to the French did not extend to their politics. Recovered to his former state of health, and animated by the strong motives of national interest and national honor, he thundered out what may be called his first Philippic against the ministry. He begins with a plain, yet strong, representation of the distressful scene of Europe, and recommends to the lords a general address to the throne after the manner of their ancestors, suitable to the dignity of those from whom it comes, and to the occasion upon which it is made. From the allowed difficulties and dangers attending the present situation, he argues that what was lost could not be regained but by measures different from those which had been pursued, and by the assistance of other counsellors than those who had sunk the nation into contempt, and exposed it to the ravages of all their neighbours. Nothing, in his opinion, could raise more confidence in foreign powers still attached to them, or more intimidate those whose designs it was their interest to defeat, than an open testimony of their resolution, neither any longer to approve that conduct by which the liberty of the half of Europe had been endangered, nor to lavish praises on the men, who, in twenty years, never transacted any thing for the benefit of their country. He then enters into an artful enumeration of past measures, exposes their insignificance, and severely arraigns those of cowardice, if not of something worse, who, notwithstanding all admonitions, constantly pursued them. Why the queen of Hungary, notwithstanding all the motives of justice and compassion that pleaded in her favor, was suffered to be overpowered by the natural enemies of this nation, the rivals of their trade, and the persecutors of their religion, the whole world, he says, has long asked to no purpose. Instead of paying
I. subsidies

subsidies for troops, never to be employed, and enriching foreign princes with the plunder of a nation, which they cannot injure and do not defend, he laments that the king of Prussia's friendship was not obtained at any rate, and mentions with indignation the late Hanover neutrality. Less sanguine, however, for a land war, the expences of which, he owns, were certain, and the events hazardous, he lays the stress of his argument on the naval armaments. Having described the superiority of English fleets, sea-officers and sailors, and avowed the assertions, however pompous they might appear, that the Britons are placed the centinels at the barriers of nature, and arbiters of the intercourse of mankind, he observes, that this dominion on the Ocean was asserted in former times, in opposition to powers far more able to contest it than those whom his country had so long submissively courted, and were now evidently afraid of. He lastly exhorts them not to despair; but, expecting their safety only from a change of counsels and of measures, not to praise before examining, because inquiry comes too late after approbation. This discourse was justly applauded by the speakers on the other side, as well as on his own; but it did not prevent the usual compliment from being paid to the crown, or rather to the ministry.

The opposition had no better success in the following debate, 1742. and, indeed, vigorous resolutions could hardly prevail in a house where ministers of a pacific turn bore so considerable a proportion. A majority of no more than twelve prevented a censure from being passed on the neglect shewn by the ministry, in permitting fourteen out of the nineteen officers, belonging to the establishment at Minorca, to be absent at a time when that important island was threatened with an invasion. Lord Chesterfield was

1742. very active in the examination of the witnesses, the discussion of the points in debate, and the protest that ensued upon the negative put to the motion. As he answered the lord chancellor on this occasion, he was obliged to unite precision with clearness, and to prefer argument to declamation. He allowed, however, some scope to his imagination in appealing to the bench of bishops, whether the interests of religion, as well as reasons of policy, ought not to have produced some attempts towards making the Minorquins good protestants and affectionate subjects. There was likewise something striking in these remarkable, I had almost said prophetic, words, "I think, I am in duty obliged to forewarn your lordships, that if ever this island should be lost by any future neglect, the whole nation will impute the loss to your having put a negative at this time upon such a motion . . . ; for after the loss is incurred, no punishment you can inflict upon the persons guilty will be an atonement for your former indifference, which will be considered as the original cause of that loss."

The dispositions of the new house of commons were much sooner discovered than those of the house of peers. The prime minister could no longer command a majority. So high were the popular prejudices against him, that his dependents found it expedient to abandon him, in order to preserve their interest at his expence [50]. Parties, indeed, seemed so equally balanced, that no business of importance could go on; and the trial of some of the controverted elections shewed where the preponderancy lay. To support his credit, the minister endeavoured in vain to divide the opposition; they divided, indeed, but not till after his fall. The offers made to the prince of Wales were peremptorily refused,

refused, as coming from the man whom he accused of being the ^{1742.} author of the grievances at home, and of the miscarriages abroad.

Thus, no longer able to continue at the helm, and in danger of meeting with greater severity if he persisted in his resistance, he resigned all his places. The king, prepared for this necessary sacrifice, accepted of his resignation; but thought proper to shew his regret of losing him, by bestowing upon him the most satisfactory marks of personal regard and protection [51]. In order to vacate his seat in the lower house, he was raised to the upper, by being made a peer. The new earl of Orford's good humour, good nature, and experienced benevolence, secured him the affection of his relations, friends, and numerous attendants. Time did justice to his character [52]; a veil was drawn over his errors, and even his political competitors seem universally to have allowed him abilities, and at least comparative merit [53].

The fall of the minister was not attended with that total change of men and measures, which the majority of the country party had expected. By this revolution, Mr. Pulteney, who had for a long time been the leader of the opposition in the house of commons, found himself in a situation that rendered him, in some measure, the arbiter between the crown and the people: but this place was too exalted, too much exposed, to be secure. The triumph of a popular tribune seldom continues for any length of time; and he who can do what he will, unless he attempts all, must soon give way to those who are more daring. He thought, that by declining to take the rudder, he might have preserved his authority with the public, and his influence at court. But his moderation was unsuccessful. Personally disliked by the sovereign for what he might have done, and by a great
part

1742. part of the nation for what he did not do, he irrecoverably lost
the party he deserted [54], and obtained from the other a title
without power [55].

The vacancies occasioned by the removal of the old minister, and of a few of his most immediate dependents, were soon filled by those whigs who, from a dislike of the person, disapprobation of the measures, or eagerness after the places, had before joined the discontented of other denominations. The new administration admitted but few either of the tories, or of the violent republicans, and thus contracting their political ground, they left the distinction of the *broad bottoms* to the succeeding opposition. These, gloried in that comprehensive name, but rejected with scorn that of faction with which they were branded.

The most considerable acquisition made by the court was that of lord Carteret; and, at the present juncture, none could be of greater importance. His great knowledge of the affairs of Europe, enterprising genius, and high principles of government, very pliable to the desires of a master, raised him to the place of prime minister; a place, at this crisis, as little to be envied as it was difficult to be filled. The king, whose language he spoke, and whose views he ennobled, at the same time that he indulged him in his favorite prejudices, soon gave him as great a share of his personal affection as he ever could bestow. The drooping spirits of the nation began to revive. A Richelieu was expected to take place of a Mazarin, and the people rejoiced at the exchange of an over-cautious guide for one, who, animated with the ancient spirit of chivalry, seemed to have been sent from heaven to satisfy their most ardent thirst of glory.

Lord

Lord Chesterfield might have expected to have had some ^{1742.} share in the new administration, having been so instrumental in bringing about the late revolution. But whether through jealousy in the chiefs, dislike in the monarch, or unwillingness in the earl to accept of engagements, unless he knew and approved of the terms [55], he was left out of the list; and this neglect may appear a sufficient excuse for his refusing, some years after, to be concerned in the ministry with those who, at this time, shewed themselves so indifferent, if not averse, for admitting him into their association.

Some thinking persons there were, who seeing the name of Chesterfield omitted in the list of the ministry, and that of Argyll soon struck out of it by himself, began, even at this early period, to find fault with the choice, and mistrust the abilities of the new pilots. Of the many satyrical pieces published at that time, I shall only transcribe part of an ode, which seemed stronger marked, and was better received, than most other poetical productions of the same date [56].

Thus deprived of the assistance of some of the most considerable of the party whom he had been connected with, and was now obliged to oppose, lord Chesterfield found, in a succession of young spirited peers, a seasonable supply of auxiliary forces. These were the duke of Bedford, the earls of Halifax and Sandwich, lords Talbot and Lonsdale, together with a few supporters of the late minister, who now joined the new opposition.

The earl's eloquence was particularly animated in the famous debate on a bill passed in the house of commons, the object of which was to encourage witnesses to give in their evidence against the late minister, by the promise of indemnity to themselves for
the

1742, the share they might have had in the corrupt transactions he was suspected of. Lord Carteret, formerly the accuser of Sir Robert, now stood forth the advocate of the earl of Orford. Never did the acuteness, comprehensiveness, and precision, of that eloquent speaker shine more eminently than on this occasion. He was complimented both by those who supported the same side with himself, and by those who opposed it. There was something particularly interesting and elegant in the manner in which lord Chesterfield began his answer, or rather his second Philippic. "I have so long," he said, "honoured the abilities, "and so often concurred with the opinion of the noble lord who "began the debate, that I cannot, without unusual concern, rise "up now to speak in opposition to him; nor could any other "motive support me under the apparent disadvantage of a contest "so unequal, but the consciousness of upright intentions, and "the concurrence of the whole nation." This exordium did not prevent him from exerting all his powers in the support of the bill, which he represented as suggested by necessity, authorized by similar instances of former and even present times, free from the imputations of injustice and cruelty. He then entered into a particular discussion of the nature of oral evidence, and endeavoured to remove the suspicions about witnesses being induced by such an encouragement to give a false testimony, without being liable to detection. He was particularly vehement at the end of his speech. As it had been asserted, that no real charge could be alledged to justify an unusual mode of severity, "We are "upbraided," he said, "with our own declarations, that the "person mentioned in this bill would quickly find accusers, "when he should be divested of his authority. Behold him
"now,

" now, say his advocates, reduced from his envied eminence, 1742.
 " and placed on a level with his fellow-subjects! behold him no
 " longer the distributor of employments, or the disburser of
 " the public treasures; see him divested of all security, but that
 " of innocence, and yet no accusations are produced. This, my
 " lords, is a topic so fruitful of panegyric, and so happily
 " adapted to the imagination of a person long used to celebrate
 " the wisdom and integrity of ministers [57], that, were not the
 " present question of too great importance to admit false con-
 " cessions, I should suffer it to remain without controversy.
 " But this is no time for criminal indulgence, and therefore
 " I shall annihilate this short-lived triumph, by observing,
 " that to be out of place is not necessarily to be out of power.
 " A minister may retain his influence, who has resigned
 " his employments; he may still retain the favor of his
 " prince, and possess him with a false opinion that he can only
 " secure his authority by protecting him; or, what there is an
 " equal reason to suspect, his successor may be afraid of con-
 " curring in a law, which may hereafter be revived against
 " himself." An objection had been raised against the bill by some
 of his noble antagonists, which was founded on the regard due
 to their dignity, and the cautiousness they ought to act with in
 charging those with crimes who had a seat among them. This
 objection he turned into an argument to incite the lords to be
 watchful against the least suspicion that might fall upon them,
 to eject pollution from their walls, and preserve their power by
 keeping their reputation pure and untainted. The bill was
 rejected, not so much perhaps because such an exertion of power
 could only be justified by the supreme law of necessity, as on

1742. account of the obvious consequences that might have attended a too full discovery. The country party in the house of commons highly resented the negative put by the lords upon their bill, and as vainly attempted to pass a vote of censure on this indisputable prerogative.

Another bill, which had been passed in the same house, met with no better fate in that of peers. Under pretence of securing trade and navigation in time of war, it implied a severe reproof of the preceding administration, and laid a restraint upon the present board of admiralty. The earl of Winchelsea, who presided at that board, exposed the defects of that bill in such a distinct manner, as to oblige his antagonists to admit that it could not be passed without such alterations as would have made it quite a new one. It may be doubted whether lord Chesterfield, who wished the bill not to be rejected, without some attempts to amend it, was altogether sincere in the following expressions, "Were all men like the noble lord whom I am now attempting to answer, vigilant to discover, sagacious to distinguish, and industrious to prosecute the interest of the public, I should be far from proposing that they should be constrained by rule, or required to follow any guide but their own reason." Some irony was perhaps likewise mixed with great good humor and truth in the introduction to the reply. "As the known sincerity of that noble lord allows no reason for suspecting that he would bestow any praise where he did not believe there was some desert, and as his penetration and acuteness secure him from being deceived by false appearances of merit, I cannot but applaud myself for having obtained his
"esteem,

"esteem, which I hope will not be forfeited by my future 1742.
conduct."

The parliamentary business had been, during this session, so extensive and so important, that lord Chesterfield was detained in town longer than was consistent with his desire of taking another journey to Spa. For though the waters of that place had greatly relieved him of his disorders, which were vertigos, languors, and other nervous symptoms, he was far from being entirely cured, and found such a return of his complaints during the winter, as made him conclude that his shattered tenement, as he expressed it, would admit of but half repairs, and must have them annually. "In short," says he in a letter to his physician Dr. Cheyne, "after all the attention and observation
"I am capable of, I can hardly say what does me good and
"what not. My constitution conforms itself so much to the
"humor of the times, that it changes almost daily its friends
"for its enemies, and its enemies for its friends." Being disappointed of crossing the sea, he took his refuge at Bath, where the waters never failed to give him a temporary relief.

As lord Chesterfield was not less zealous for the service of his friends than for that of his country, and was universally considered as the best judge as well as patron of men of letters, he had frequent opportunities of being useful to them; one of which had offered during the course of the last winter. The relict of the great duke of Marlborough, being desirous of submitting to posterity her political conduct, as well as her lord's, applied to our earl for a proper person to receive her informations, and put the memoirs of her life into a proper dress. Mr. Hooke, the celebrated writer of an excellent Roman history, was re-

1742. commended by him for that purpose. He accordingly waited upon the dutchess, while she was still in bed oppressed by the infirmities of age. But knowing who he was, she immediately got herself lifted up, and continued speaking during six hours. She delivered to him, without any notes, her account in the most lively as well as the most connected manner. As she was not tired herself, she would have continued longer the business of this first sitting, had she not perceived that Mr. Hooke was quite exhausted, and wanted refreshment as well as rest. So eager was she for the completion of the work, that she insisted upon Mr. Hooke's not leaving her house till he had finished it. This was done in a short time; and her grace was so well pleased with the performance, that she complimented the author with a present of 5000*l*, a sum which far exceeded his expectations. As soon as he was free, and permitted to quit the house of his benefactress, he hastened to the earl, to thank him for his favor, and communicated to him his good fortune. The perturbation of mind he was under, occasioned by the strong sense of his obligation, plainly appeared in his stammering out his acknowledgements; and he who had succeeded so well as the interpreter of her grace's sentiments, could scarcely utter his own.

As the majority of the nation were greatly prejudiced in favor of the new ministers, they found no difficulty in obtaining from the two houses whatever they demanded; and they professed to have no other views but to prosecute the war with vigor, in order to procure a speedy and honorable termination of it. A considerable supply in money was voted to the heroine, who so bravely defended her hereditary rights. Sixteen thousand

land men of the British army were sent over to her assistance 1742. in Germany; and the Dutch were induced, though with difficulty, to make a third and considerable augmentation in their forces. A neutrality was obtained of the king of Prussia by negociation, and of the king of the two Sicilies by menaces. The elector of Saxony was detached from the grand alliance. The king of Sardinia was enabled to make a vigorous and successful stand against the united forces of France and Spain in Italy; and a considerable interest was created in the empire in favour of the family who had so long given it a head.

The successes of the campaign equalled at first the promises and wishes of those who had planned it. Never perhaps, from one year to another, was there a revolution more rapid and more complete. The queen of Hungary, no longer over-awed by the activity of her near and ambitious neighbour, treated her other enemies as she had been treated by them. She not only cleared her Austrian territories of the new emperor's troops, but retaliated upon him in the severest manner his threatened siege of her capital, by driving him out of his own. Bavaria, for the time, made her amends for the loss of Silesia; Bohemia was recovered; and whilst one French army was besieged in Prague, the other which, in expectation of coming to its relief, had been obliged to quit the neighbourhood of Hanover, was forced to struggle against sword and famine, and never could penetrate through the passes of Bohemia. Of seventy-five thousand men, led into Germany under the conduct of the experienced generals Belleisle and Broglie, scarce twenty thousand returned to their native country. The Spanish forces, not being joined by the Neapolitan troops, shared a similar fate; and the infant of Spain, who,

1742. who, with a corps of Frenchmen attempted a passage through the Alps, was equally unsuccessful. Even the operations at sea, though less brilliant, were calculated to retrieve the honor of the British flag; and the blocking up of the French and Spanish fleets in the port of Toulon, seemed to secure to Britain the empire of the sea.

In most wars, opportunities are offered to either of the contending parties to obtain a good peace, which all wise nations must prefer to the most glorious victories. France, baffled in her designs, for want of an earlier and better directed exertion of her power, saw the decisive instant fled, and found herself reduced to the necessity of offering moderate terms to the queen of Hungary. But in proportion to her advances, the queen and her allies raised both their expectations and their demands. Lord Stair, in whom the gallant spirit of the Edwards and the Henrys seemed to revive, formed the most sanguine projects, and offered to his enterprising nation the flattering prospect of an expedition to Paris. The British king, inflamed with that thirst of glory which inspired his youth, when he fought by the side of the great duke of Marlborough, and learned to conquer under him, had long wished himself, like king William, at the head of a confederate army; and, in order to form it, sixteen thousand Hanoverians were taken into British pay.

This measure, as expensive to England as it was beneficial to Hanover, was strictly canvassed in the next session of parliament. Lord Chesterfield declared his sentiments immediately on the opening of the session. When the address of thanks, implying compliments to the ministry, was proposed, he openly avowed his reluctance to applaud, before the circumstances of the new measure were disclosed, and their consequences justified

by

by the event. His object, indeed, was that of a good citizen, 1742. as well as of a wise statesman. It was the saving of English treasure and English blood. He by no means could approve the wasting of both in visionary schemes and impracticable attempts. He thought the purposes of the war, at least upon the continent, could now be attained, if by wasteful, unfaithful, unprofitable confederacies, their common and too powerful enemies were not provoked, without any chance of being thoroughly subdued. When, in the beginning of the next year, the expediency 1743. of taking so many additional forces into pay was considered [58], he disclosed in the strongest manner his political principles, and perhaps his resentment. As it fell to his lot to answer his old friend and new antagonist the earl of Bath, he spared no pains to shew himself not inferior to so distinguished a speaker. It were to be wished, that in the course of this debate, as well as of that which came on the next year upon the same subject, his lordship had not used, in speaking of his sovereign, some expressions which the heat of opposition could scarce excuse. The reasons on which his opposition was founded, were contained in the protest entered on this occasion. The name of lord Chesterfield was at the head of the four and twenty peers who signed it; and, in order to leave no doubt of the share he had in it, he introduced it in a manner which proved at least that he was in earnest. “To shew, my lords, that I do not oppose
 “the ministry for the sake of obstructing the public counsels,
 “or of irritating those whom I despair to defeat, and that I am
 “not afraid of trusting my conduct to the impartial examination
 “of posterity, I shall beg leave to enter, with my protest, the
 “reasons which have influenced me in this day’s (Feb. 1, 1743)
 “deliberation,

1743. "deliberation, that they may be considered when this question
"shall no longer be a point of interest, and our present jealousies
"and animosities are forgotten."

Ministers engaged in a war, and especially in a continental one, are necessarily obliged to procure continual supplies; and in the imposition of new taxes, a thing in itself always unpopular, and only justified by successful expeditions, are constantly opposed by their enemies, whose interest it is to obstruct their measures, and to eclipse their glory. An instance of this appeared with regard to the money raised by the new bill for retailing spirituous liquors. The pernicious effects of these liquors upon the common people had been very obvious in the increase of mortality in this great metropolis. Physicians as well as divines had joined in their endeavours to check so great an evil. Their remonstrances had been attended to; and in concurrence with their advice an act had been passed in the ninth year of this reign (1736), which prohibited any person from selling spirituous liquors, in smaller quantities than two gallons, without a licence. Fifty pounds were to be paid for this privilege of administering draughts of poison to fellow-subjects; and few people perhaps would have purchased it at that rate. But the act, from the difficulty of its being executed, had failed of its effect. It had been found impossible to detect all the petty dealers by whom it was infringed. Informations had been discouraged, and informers rendered infamous; and as spirituous liquors, and in particular that which is called gin, continued to be sold in small obscure shops, almost in every street, few people thought it worth their while to take out these expensive licences. Thus was the law defeated, the
quantity

quantity of distilled spirits every year increased, and drunken-^{1743.}ness, with its fatal consequences, rendered more prevalent by the very efforts made to check it. The number of gallons consumed in one year appeared to amount to seven millions. A new bill was therefore proposed, and passed in the house of commons, by which a small duty of one penny per gallon was laid on at the still-head, and the price of the licences reduced to twenty shillings. It was easily foreseen that, by this act, a considerable sum would be raised; but it was not equally clear that the consumption of these destructive liquors would be lessened, and the progress of vice in any degree stopped. On the contrary, lord Hervey and other opposers of the bill, represented it as an indulgence granted to those who would pay the tax, a legal establishment of vice, and a method of increasing the income by the destruction of the people. In a case which so nearly affected the interests of society and religion, the ecclesiastical lords, and in particular the bishop of Oxford (Dr. Secker), expressed themselves with a zeal becoming their order. They attacked the bill by arguments. Lord Chesterfield exposed it to ridicule by admirable strokes of irony and wit. His speeches were exquisite pieces of humor and severity. He stiled the money that was immediately raised on this bill, the drinking-fund; and the law which authorized the levying of the duty, the effect of that practice, of which it was intended to be likewise the cause. It is reported that, on seeing the reverend bench voting on the same side with himself, he said he doubted whether he had not got on the wrong side of the question, not having had the honour of being in the company of so many lawn-fleeves for several years.

1743. His lordship had less scope to display his vein of pleasantry in the debate for quieting of corporations. It is sufficiently known that many of the ancient charters granted to particular boroughs were charged with clauses, which the alteration of times and circumstances have rendered absurd and impracticable. Such clauses, therefore, gradually sink into disuse; example supplies the place of rule, and a series of precedents, in this as well as in many other instances, is considered as the best interpreter of obsolete laws. But yet, some inconveniencies have frequently arisen from this prescriptive deviation. The neglect of some of the forms or conditions prescribed by such charters, in the election of officers, though often overlooked, had more than once afforded a pretence to ministers, to lay aside the nomination of obnoxious persons, and even to threaten communities with the forfeiture of their charters. This had been the case with regard to the mayor of Melcomregis in the county of Dorset. The charter confined the election of that superior magistrate to the rank of simple burgeses, and, as it made the mayor alderman for life after he had passed through his office, it seemed to exclude him from ever becoming mayor again. By this provision, the number of aldermen in a small town must soon become equal to the number of inhabitants, and, in order to maintain the annual elections, the condition had been neglected for one hundred and twenty-five years. This neglect was taken notice of on the following occasion. In the late election of members of parliament, the mayor was thought to have been too much influenced by a party nomination, and he was soon after threatened with, and prosecuted by, a *quo warranto*. The cause, being determined against him at the court of king's bench, was

was brought by appeal before the house of lords, where the ^{1743.} sentence was confirmed upon the unanimous advice of the judges. Yet as, in the course of the proceedings, the absurdity of the clause, and the authority of an usage sanctified by a practice of above a century, were strongly urged by the opposition, and indeed allowed by the majority, a motion was made for a new law, to secure for the future the election of officers in corporate towns, when made according to ancient custom, though not agreeably to the express letter of the charters. A bill was accordingly drawn up and presented, but was found in many respects improper and insufficient. Lord Cholmondeley exposed the danger of assenting to an indiscriminate violation of charters. Lord Hardwicke allowed that the bill was in itself fundamentally right; but insisted that, in its present form, it would produce more and greater evils than those it was intended to remedy. He shewed that if the prescription were limited to a very short time, the most dangerous consequences would follow, and if it were fixed at a very long term, little or no effect could be expected from it. But why too long or too short, answered lord Chesterfield, is there then no medium, and could not such a medium be hit on? Yet, notwithstanding his lordship's efforts, it seemed to be at last allowed on all sides, that although the evil complained of was real, yet it was perhaps one of those it became the legislative power to wink at, or not attempt to cure radically, till the abuse should prove considerable enough to require it.

As soon as the session was over, the monarch set out for the continent. An equal number of British and electoral troops, joined to a small body of Austrians, defended the banks of the

1743. Mayne against a superior army of the French. A considerable reinforcement of Hessian and Hanoverian auxiliaries was advanced at a small distance; but their nearer approach was stopped by the enemy, and the junction could not be effected without a battle. Lord Stair, who commanded the confederate, otherwise called the *pragmatic* army, soon met with a strong opposition to his schemes, both from the ministers at home, and from the foreign generals. The first seemed inclined to an æconomical half war, the last wished to preserve their troops. This unhappy conflict had prevented the marshal from endeavouring to change an unfavourable situation, and from attempting to extricate himself by a decisive stroke. His camp, which occupied the string of a bow, was greatly outflanked by the French, who were masters of the country around him, and in a great measure cut off his communications. He found himself engaged in an ill-managed defensive campaign, when his genius led him on to an offensive one. The king was impatiently expected to put an end to these irresolutions. He came at last towards the middle of June, with the duke of Cumberland, and put himself at the head of a divided, discontented, and disheartened army. In want of all necessaries, and under the impossibility of attacking the enemy, but with great disadvantage, he was forced, eight days after his arrival, to begin his operations by a retreat. This had been foreseen by the enemy. Marshal Noailles, their commander, had posted his army in such a manner, as to render the defiles, and in particular that of Dettingen, through which the British troops with the king were to pass, exposed to attacks on all sides. By this judicious disposition, and the fire of a numerous artillery, he thought himself certain either of reducing

ducing the confederates to a situation not very different from ¹⁷⁴³⁻ that of the Romans furrounded by the Samnites in the Caudine forks, or of cutting them off, without any danger to himself. He is even said to have entertained the hopes of making the king his prisoner. But all his measures were disconcerted, and the fortune of the day reversed, by the rash impetuosity of one of his general officers, who, instead of obeying his orders, and patiently waiting for his enemies, crossed a rivulet, and engaged himself in the marshy defile he was posted to defend. This obliged the French general to march to his support, and to abandon the advantage of his strong posts, as well as of his batteries on the other side of the Mayn. A general action was thus brought on, in which the gallantry of the troops, fighting under the eye of their king, animated by his words, and spurred on by his example, soon snatched the victory from the hands of their rivals, and forced those to fly from whom before they were retreating. The consequences of this action were not so considerable as they might have been, if the enemy had been immediately and closely pursued, their retreat over the Rhine cut off, or a powerful diversion made towards French Flanders. Instead of this, the field of battle was left to the enemy, who, not caring to venture upon another trial after the junction of the Hessians, retired leisurely to their own country. Lord Stair finding his projects flighted, himself disregarded, and foreign counsels and concerns preferred to national interest, thought proper to resign, and, as he expressed it, to return to the plough [59]. The duke of Marlborough, with several other officers, followed the example of the general, and, on their return, communicated their disgust to their countrymen.

The

1743. The members of the new cabinet were not much more fortunate in their political than in their military operations. The emperor, deserted by those to whom he owed his vain title and his real ruin, wished to break a connection so fatal to his house, and to effect, almost on any terms, a reconciliation with the queen of Hungary. As she had at that time little dependence but on the support of Great Britain, however she might have been influenced by female pride and just resentment, the English ministry could, and perhaps ought, to have obliged her to accept the advantageous offers that were made her. Unhappily both the counsellors near the king, and those in London, were far from being of this opinion. The advances of an humble enemy were haughtily rejected; those of the French were not better received; and the two factions that divided the cabinet threw on each other the blame of the ill success of the Hanau negotiations [60]. The new treaties of Dresden and of Worms were not concluded with greater unanimity. Though they procured to the queen of Hungary the assistance of the Polish and Sardinian monarchs, they drained the British treasury, and proved detrimental to the common cause. The one renewed the jealousies of the king of Prussia, the other alienated the Genoese, and rendered the Neapolitan neutrality ineffectual. Even the twenty thousand men, who were with great difficulty obtained from the Dutch, and marched more as spectators than as auxiliaries, furnished a pretence to the French king for attacking their barrier. Flushed with success, he invaded their country, and by a series of victories and conquests brought that flourishing commonwealth to the brink of ruin; thus verifying lord Chesterfield's prophecy, that, if Holland should

should ever be induced or obliged to become a joint adventurer 1743. in the same project, her sufferings would be so much the greater, as she was more exposed to the strength and fury of the enemy [61].

Nothing but lord Chesterfield's indignation and zeal for the honor of his country could justify the severity of his speech on the next meeting of parliament. Though he declared he did not intend to deny any of the panegyric to his majesty, or even to his ministers, yet, by an artful distinction between the words *behaviour* and *conduct*, he more than hinted, that, while he did not dispute the bravery of the monarch on the day of action, he thought himself at liberty to refuse his approbation to the management of the campaign.

He expressed himself with still greater freedom in the debates 1744. about continuing the Hanoverian troops in British pay after the expiration of the term for which they had been hired. No doubt, the heat of party carried him much too far, when he painted their conduct, with regard to the English, in the blackest colours. In the subsequent campaigns they effectually cleared their character; they gained the esteem, and have ever since preserved the friendship, of their fellow-subjects. The whole strength of both parties was displayed on this occasion, and the question, under different forms, was fully debated by the most accomplished orators of the time. In the house of commons stood, on one side, Sir William Young, Mr. Horace Walpole [62], Mr. Fox, and lord Percival [63]; and on the other, Mr. Nugent, Mr. G. Grenville, lord Quarendon, and Mr. Pitt. In the house of peers, the ministerial party was chiefly supported by the dukes of Newcastle and Argyle, the marquis of Tweeddale, the earls of Cholmondeley

1744. Cholmondeley and Bath, and by the lords Bathurst, Carteret, and Hardwicke; while the chief opposers were the dukes of Bedford and Marlborough, the earls of Sandwich and Halifax, the lords Hervey, Londale, Gower, and Talbot. But none of them made a more conspicuous figure than our earl, who did equal justice to his cause, and to those from whom he dissented. The earl of Morton [64] was distinguished in a particular manner by him. He called him the most formidable as well as most candid of his antagonists; one who disdained the hateful arts of sophistry, and who forced reverence, esteem, and love, even from those whom their conscience obliged to oppose him. Notwithstanding the liberties he took with the royal character, he paid some compliments to the personal virtues of the king, and lamented that his honest heart was too easily misled by artifice and misrepresentation.

But while the parliament was engaged in these useless and acrimonious debates, the French court, highly exasperated that their overtures of peace had been rejected, was aiming, by a sudden effort, to terminate the war. While patriots were contending, and statesmen lulled in security, an invasion of the island was preparing, the more alarming as it was unexpected. Cardinal de Tencin, the petulant successor of the more moderate Fleury, who owed his dignity to the pretender, was resolved to make at least the appearance of an effort in his favor. With this view his eldest son was sent for from Italy, and preparations made to convey the young adventurer into England, with a considerable body of troops, in hopes of dividing the nation, and of disturbing, if not subverting, the government. Several ships of war and transports had been assembled at Brest and
Rochefort,

Rochefort, with as much secrecy as expedition; fifteen thousand ^{1744.} men were ready to embark at Dunkirk, Boulogne, and Calais; and count de Saxe, the most active of the French generals, was appointed to command this expedition. It is even said that he had taken a trip to London in the course of the winter, and had concerted the plan of operations with some of the disaffected party. The month of February was pitched upon for this undertaking; the transports were ready, and the fleet intended to support them was cruising in the channel from the Lizard to the Downs, before the British cabinet were sufficiently roused. Happily a violent storm that arose, drove ashore, destroyed or damaged the transports, greatly annoyed the French fleet, and nearly occasioned its destruction. In the mean while, Sir John Norris, who with great difficulty had slipped out of Portsmouth, had found means to join the ships that came out from the river, and to assemble a fleet superior to that of the enemy; but he was prevented by wind and tide from coming up with them. The English coast, however, was now sufficiently guarded; all orders of men took the alarm, and expressed their zeal for the reigning family [65]; several noblemen raised regiments at their own expence, to employ them in the service of their king and country; and the earl of Stair, together with the duke of Marlborough, no longer remembered their causes of complaint. They offered their services to the king with great zeal, and were reinstated in their former command, thus forgetting their animosities to unite their efforts against their common enemy.

But even at this very instant a debate of some consequence arose in the house of peers. The law passed in the reign of queen Ann, making it treasonable to correspond with the pre-

1744. tender, was, on account of this attempt, and of some discoveries that had been made, moved to be extended to his son. A bill was passed in consequence in the house of commons, and when it came before the lords, the earl of Hardwick proposed to revive a clause for continuing the forfeiture of titles and estates upon the posterity of those who should be convicted of treasonable correspondences, during the lives of the two sons of the pretender, after the death of their father. The duke of Bedford, the young lord Hervey, and especially lord Talbot, warmly opposed the clause, which was defended with great ability by the lords Cholmondeley, Ilchester, and Carteret. The earl of Chesterfield took part with the former. He supported with great eloquence what he called the cause of future generations, as well as of justice and humanity. He availed himself of the authority of bishop Burnet, who, when the law of forfeiture was passed for Scotland in 1709, voted against it, and left it upon record that he did so [66]. He endeavoured to shew the absurdity of the proposed clause from political arguments, its iniquity from moral principles, and its contrariety to fundamental laws. "I hope, said he, to be heard with more
" attention, as I cannot be suspected of any private views, or
" imagined to speak from any other motives than conviction.
" I have no children to excite my tenderness, or turn me aside
" from the most rigid justice. These are times, in which it is
" no diminution of happiness to reflect that the pleasures of a
" parent are denied, times in which it may be reasonably the
" desire of every lord rather to leave behind him a good ex-
" ample than a numerous posterity.---The reverend prelates are
" less interested in the decision of this great question than the
" rest

“ rest of your lordships, since their titles do not descend to their 1744.
 “ posterity, and therefore if they oppose this clause, they can
 “ only oppose it from their persuasion that it is absurd and
 “ unjust. But you, my lords, whose titles and whose fortunes
 “ are hereditary, and who think it some part of your happiness
 “ that your posterity will enjoy your honors---have still other
 “ reasons to influence you to opposition. You, my lords,
 “ whose honors are antient, and who derive fame and dignity
 “ from the actions of your illustrious ancestors, undoubtedly
 “ desire to transmit these advantages to future generations.
 “ And you, my lords, whose honors are lately conferred upon
 “ your families, must desire that they may, in time, obtain
 “ the sanction of antiquity. But if this clause should once be
 “ made a law, the existence of our noble families is at the
 “ mercy of every prince, of every minister, of every informer---
 “ It will be no security to be without guilt; he only can imagine
 “ himself out of danger, who is without fortune---Let us not,
 “ my lords, make ourselves infamous to our posterity, by be-
 “ queathing them a law, which must keep them in perpetual
 “ alarms, and which will give wickedness so much advantage
 “ over virtue---Let us not break through all the rules of mo-
 “ rality only to insure liberty---If we must offer incense to the
 “ throne, let us offer it at our own expence, that posterity
 “ may rather ridicule our folly than curse our wickedness; and
 “ let us resolve not to prostitute the power, with which the
 “ virtue of our ancestors has invested us, to the destruction of
 “ those, who, in time, will count us among their progenitors,
 “ but with this difference, that, as we may reflect with vene-
 “ ration and gratitude upon that courage and honesty by which

1744. "we are ennobled, they will mention with shame and contempt that cowardice and flattery with which they are enslaved." I could not resist the satisfaction of transcribing these valuable specimens of British eloquence, and cannot help thinking, that even Demosthenes himself would not have disowned them.

And yet if a Phocyon had appeared in the midst of such an harangue, would not the Greek orator have apprehended the pruning of his periods [67], as our animated earl must have done the animadversions of the more calm lord chancellor, who analysed and answered his speech? Allowing him the merit of oratory, he seemed to dispute with him that of precision and close reasoning. He demonstrated the justice of the forfeiture from the origin of hereditary possessions; he referred its propriety to the law of necessity, superior to all other laws; he shewed how much the love of our country ought to be superior to all other motives, and represented the strength of parental attachments as a guard against public offences. The practice of all ages and of every nation was likewise urged in defence of the law, both by him and by the bishop of Oxford (Dr. Secker). This prelate took pains to reconcile the punishment of fathers upon children with some texts of the old testament, which had been adduced against it, and appealed to the authority of the great Roman orator [68], an authority surely superior on such a point to that of bishop Burnet! It is with peculiar satisfaction I observe, that this interesting debate gave rise to a most excellent work entitled *Some considerations on the law of forfeiture for high treason*. This book, which was written and published without the name of the author, a few months after the alarm of this French invasion, is now well known

known to have been written by the noble son of the great promoter of this bill, whose talents he possessed, whose steps he followed, whose honors he merited, and alas! for too short a time attained [69].

As our earl had been happy enough to form early connections with men of superior parts, abilities, or virtues, he every year experienced the regret of being deprived of some of his friends. His attachment to Mr. Hammond has been already mentioned. This gentleman, for whom he had procured a seat in parliament [70], died in the course of this winter. Lord Chesterfield was greatly affected with his loss, and testified his regard and esteem for this amiable companion and poet, by taking care of what he left behind him, his *Delia* and his works. These, consisting of elegies written in the true style of Tibullus, had been intrusted to his care, and they were published by him, ennobled with a preface expressive of his feelings, and worthy of his pen [71].

Superior in parts, but not equal in sentiments, died in the course of the same winter the great Mr. Pope. Lord Chesterfield, who for many years had enjoyed as considerable a share in his intimacy as any of his contemporaries, and who, by having passed many days with him at his house at Twickenham, had the best opportunities of observing him in his private hours, did justice to his memory on all occasions. He considered him as not inferior to Horace [72], and imputed the asperity of his muse to the feelings of the poet, rather than to the natural disposition of the man. On his part, Mr. Pope often expressed the high opinion he had of his noble friend. Among several instances I find the following upon record. "Being one day in
" company

1744. "company at lord Cobham's with a great number of persons of distinction, who were scribbling verses on the glasses, he was desired by lord Chesterfield to oblige them with a distich *extempore*. Favour me with your diamond, my lord, said the poet, and immediately wrote on his glass

"Accept a miracle instead of wit,

"See two bad lines with Stanhope's pencil writ."

A finer though equally short panegyric was made of him and of Mr. Pulteney by the same hand [73]

"How can I, Pulteney, Chesterfield, forget,

"While Roman spirit charms and Attic wit."

With these sentiments, it is rather surprizing that he should have omitted him in his will. I have been informed that some coolness had arisen between them on account of the dutchess of Marlborough, whose character, under the name of *Atossa* [74], Mr. Pope was in vain solicited to suppress.

That celebrated dutchess herself paid the great debt to nature, the 18th of September, 1744, in the 85th year of her life. Her esteem for, and attachment to lord Chesterfield, were in her own manner strongly expressed in her will. She bestowed upon him her best and largest diamond ring, together with the sum of twenty thousand pounds, and the reversion of her Wimbledon estate, on failure of the Spencer family, "out of the great regard she had for his merit, and the infinite obligations her grace received from him." She desired his lordship to take upon him the care of superintending the history of the great duke of Marlborough, the writing of which she committed to Mr. Glover and Mr. Mallet. There is something so particular in her grace's manner of expressing her intentions with

with regard to that work, that, I believe, the reader will not be 1744.
 displeased to find part of the article of her will relating to it in a note [75].

War was at length openly declared by the French court against the British king and the Austrian queen; and to punish the Dutch for what they had done, as well as to deter them from doing more, hostilities were begun on their barrier. This step was announced by the ambassador Fenelon [76], who, in taking leave of the States General, declared to them his master's displeasure, unless they immediately abandoned their allies, and accepted of a neutrality. They demurred, took a middle way between war and peace, and, in the mean while, the French king himself, at the head of one hundred thousand plenipotentiaries, appeared on their frontiers. As no preparation had been made, two or three of the strongest towns were taken almost without resistance. These conquests would probably have been followed by many others, had not a sudden event put a stop to this brilliant expedition for this campaign. The passage of prince Charles of Lorraine over the Rhine obliged the French to recall a considerable part of their army, in order to defend their own provinces. The confederates were now much superior in Flanders; and count Saxe, with an army not equal to half the number of their forces [77], was reduced to the necessity of acting upon the defensive. But the commanders of the allied army were too generous to take advantage of this inequality. War was made against the prime minister much more than against the enemy. The generals, influenced by opposite interests, spent their time in contentions with each other; the Dutch were irresolute, the Austrians unprepared. No action was attempted,
 for

1744. for want of harmony; no siege, for want of cannon[78]; and
in those plains where Marlborough had gathered laurels, forage
was now collected, and contributions raised [79].

These dissensions in the ministry extended their influence on the operations in the Mediterranean. Two admirals, each chosen by one of the parties, were sent out together, with a superior force, to block up the united fleets of France and Spain. It was previously known that they could not agree; and it was even suspected, that one of them would not assist the other. The event of the action near Toulon proved the justness of these suspicions, and the fatal effects of pique and resentment. The subsequent trials of the admirals at home shewed equally the effects of favour and partiality. The commander who fought was disgraced, against the inclinations of the king; and, notwithstanding the clamors of the nation, the cautious one was acquitted.

The king of Prussia did not care to trust any longer to a ministry, the majority of which were far from being zealous in his cause. Apprehensive for his own conquests, if once the queen of Hungary were enabled to crush her other enemies, and enraged that his intercession in favor of the unhappy head of the empire had been despised, he thought proper to employ more powerful solicitors; and, by his seasonable diversion in Saxony and Bohemia, forced prince Charles to repass the Rhine, and fly to the defence of his sister's dominions. This fatal step turned the scale on the side of the French, and put into their hands the fortune of the war.

Lord Carteret, being thus disappointed in his extensive projects, could no longer maintain his ground against the efforts of those
whom

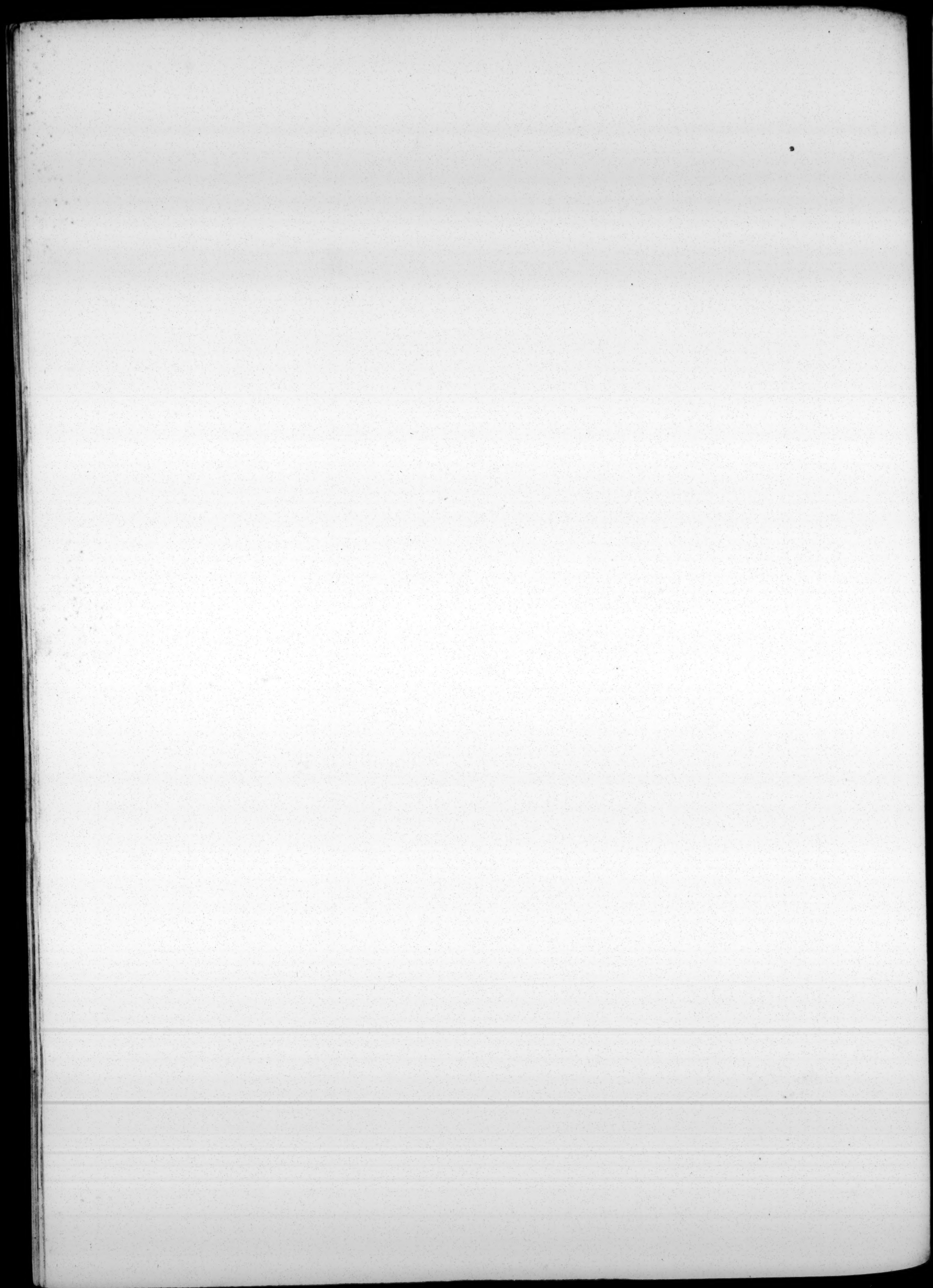
whom he despised. The people, who had hitherto only experienced an increase of taxes from what was called the *drunken* administration, easily yielded to the insinuations of his enemies, and the sovereign was obliged to sacrifice the only man he confided in, to private jealousies and to public clamor. 1744.

A treaty had been for some time negotiating between the old part of the ministry and the members of the opposition; but it was not concluded before the close of this year. It was called the *coalition*, or *broad-bottom treaty*. Lord Chesterfield, who was at the head of that party, had long declared for an honorable peace; or, till that could be obtained, for an exclusive exertion of British forces on that element where they are truly formidable. On this principle a league was formed between the two parties, to drive out the minister, who was looked upon as their common enemy. This was a matter of no small difficulty. Lord Carteret had got possession of the royal ear; and the only way to effect it was to persuade the king, that his favorite measures would be pursued, and carried on with greater efficacy, by ministers of a more popular cast. Lord Chesterfield was proposed as being equal to the obnoxious minister in his political knowledge of the interests of princes, and as the most likely person to prevail with the States to join heartily in the common cause. Necessity alone could induce George II. to employ a man whom, for a number of years, he had been taught to consider as his personal enemy [80], and whom, in return, he had not treated as a friend. He had, however, no great objection to avail himself of the earl's interest in Holland, and was even willing to send him from thence, as lord lieutenant, to Ireland, if for no other reason, to keep him still at a distance. But he wanted to make the admis-

1744. sion of the earl into the cabinet a reward for services rather than a condition of his being employed; and persisted in delaying, at least for a time, to receive him into the closet. Lord Chesterfield peremptorily insisted upon both these circumstances. The audience was accordingly granted; but the monarch, ever superior to dissimulation, received him with great coldness. *You have received your instructions, my lord,* were the only words which he spoke, in answer to the earl's application to be honored with his majesty's commands. This is not the only instance, in this reign, of a subject's forcing his way to his master, and obtaining or recovering his favor.

Thus was lord Chesterfield, after an opposition of ten years to public measures, called upon once more to take a part in administration. Admitted on his own terms, and without being obliged to sacrifice either his friends or his principles, he had the satisfaction of being called by the voice of the nation: and while one part of Europe dreaded the influence of so able a negociator, the other loudly expressed the highest satisfaction at so judicious a choice. To shew how far he was able to answer the great expectations universally entertained of him, will be the subject of the following section.





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S E C T I O N V.

THE commonwealth of the United Provinces had hitherto ^{1745.} avoided to act as principals in the present dispute. They had shewn an equal reluctance to abandon the queen of Hungary, and to commence hostilities against the French king. Faithful to their great De Witt's maxims, they had enjoyed peace amidst the tumults of war; and, *considering the commotions of their neighbours as so many opportunities for them to enlarge their trade and increase their wealth, they seemed little inclined to drop the substance, in order to catch at a shadow* [1].

This irresolute conduct had exposed them to some inconveniencies. Roused to action by the representations of their own as well as of English patriots [2], and awed into submissive tranquillity by the eloquence and menaces of French agents, they were forced to take some ambiguous steps, unsatisfactory to one of the parties, and unpleasing to the other. They granted some subsidies to the late emperor's daughter, but those were given slowly, and with a sparing hand. They increased the number of their troops, but employed them chiefly to supply the deficiencies of the Austrians in their own barrier towns; and those

1745. of their corps which had taken the field the year before, were cautiously kept from coming into action.

The earl of Chesterfield had been too well acquainted with the principles of Dutch politics during the course of his first embassy in Holland, to believe that so cautious a people could easily be induced to desert them. He knew that *to be safe was their first concern, and to be rich their second*. Indeed he was so far converted to their system, that he adopted it in great measure for his own country, and made no scruple openly to declare, that *except when the Dutch barrier is in danger, it can never be the interest of this nation to enter into a land war* [3].

This, indeed was now the case. The invasion of the low countries by the French struck terror into the different orders of the state. The Dutch mob, not unlike other mobs, and perhaps still less manageable, when excited by wild enthusiasts and artful demagogues, exclaimed that their rulers were lulled by French influence, or perhaps by French gold. The exhausted state of the public treasure, the ruinous condition of the fortifications, the emptiness of the magazines, the neglect of the military discipline, the inexperience of the officers, and the weakness of the administration, had reduced the republic to the state in which it was in the year 1672, when Lewis XIV subdued four of the provinces; and, as the cause was the same, to wit, the want of a chief, similar consequences were justly apprehended, and the same remedy desired and pointed out.

This critical situation had long been foreseen by lord Chesterfield. He had warned his countrymen repeatedly not to persist in measures calculated to serve a foreign interest. As the queen of Hungary had unexpectedly been restored to the best part of her

her hereditary possessions, he judged it inexpedient to contend ^{1745.} for the rest. All further schemes for her aggrandisement were treated by him as chimerical and destructive. He thought *an equivalent for Silesia was to be looked upon as the most romantic of all the state quixotisms of these quixot times* [4], and wished to save his country from the reproach of being the wind-mill-fighter of Europe [5].

As our earl's ideas were so well known to the old ministers, the resolution of sending him over to Holland, in order to defeat prejudices so deeply rooted, must at the first view appear extremely absurd. But two ends were to be answered, from his undertaking so difficult a negotiation. The first was to represent his lordship's *acceptance of that employ as an argument that he had undergone a political regeneration, and that he was not only satisfied with his majesty's measures, but ready to further them to the utmost of his power* [6].

The second was to be enabled to convince their sovereign that what so popular a minister could not accomplish, was really impracticable, and by degrees to induce him to adopt true national measures from the impossibility of pursuing any other [7].

The new ambassador arrived on the 11th of January at the Hague; where he was to meet with the assistance of Mr. Trevor, the present lord Trevor, who was then his Majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary with the states general. As he was to stay there but a short time, he did not take a great number of attendants with him, nor any companions but his friends Mr. Mallet and Mr. Dayrolles, in whom he expected and found an agreeable society, as well as useful assistance.

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1745. The credentials given to the earl, expressed his majesty's desire that the states might be induced to unite their forces and interests in the support of the common cause; and he was authorized to concert with their ministers and generals, as well as with those of the other allies, the proper measures to be pursued, in order to obtain as speedily as possible a good and solid peace, by carrying on the war with vigor.

The plan laid down in the ambassador's instructions was strictly followed by him; and, were the account he is said to have written of his embassy ever to see the light, it would appear how earnest he was to obtain from the Dutch what he believed they ought, and perhaps wished they would refuse. He pressed them *to come roundly into the war*, and stipulated with them the proportion of the subsidies and troops to be furnished by each side.

The Spanish ambassador, the Marquis de St. Gil, but especially the abbé de la Ville, who succeeded the marquis de Fenelon as French minister at the Hague, did not fail to oppose lord Chesterfield in the course of his negociation. The abbé was in every respect an antagonist worthy of him; and his lordship has given so lively an account of the manner in which he endeavoured to carry his point, notwithstanding his competitor's efforts, that I shall not scruple to insert it in a note [8].

Philanthropy, however, and true policy, were stronger in the earl's breast than the desire of succeeding in his warlike negociation. He held up the olive branch at the same time that his duty obliged him to spirit up the Dutch to gather laurels. He tried to induce the ministers of the contending powers to bring their respective courts to terms of accommodation, if an honorable peace were proposed; and he seems afterwards to

have done full justice to abbé de la Ville, in supposing that these 1745. were likewise his real sentiments [9].

Unfortunately several causes concurred in rendering their joint efforts ineffectual. The two parties which divided the republic were, from different motives, equally averse from peace. Fear deterred the one, and interest influenced the other. The republicans, already suspected of having betrayed their country to the French [10], were apprehensive of being made the victims of an incensed people, if they consented to an ignominious desertion of the common cause. The stadtholder on the other hand rejected all offers, even of an advantageous pacification, which would have overturned their schemes, and retarded the elevation of the prince of Orange. But the circumstance which more effectually obstructed the wished-for reconciliation was the death of the emperor Charles VII. Grief and disappointment put an end to his life, the very day that the ambassador set out from London. This event, together with the quadruple alliance concluded at the same time, and the attack made upon the Hanoverian territories by Marshal Belleisle, opened a new field of enterprize to the sanguine projectors of both nations. The wild schemes of humbling both France and Prussia were resumed with rather a better prospect of success; especially after the young duke of Bavaria's treaty with the queen of Hungary had secured to her a body of auxiliary forces, a majority of votes in the electoral college, and the restoration of the imperial dignity to her family by the election of her husband.

Thus pushed on by the current, lord Chesterfield succeeded beyond the expectations of those who sent him. The states, indeed, refused to declare war, but they agreed to carry it on.
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1745. They promised, upon paper, to maintain 50,000 men in the field, besides 10,000 in their garrisons. The mercantile spirit manifested itself in settling the proportion of the expences. But the ambassador had orders not to object to trifles; and he punctually obeyed. Instead of the two fifths, which had formerly been demanded, one third of the old subsidies, and only one fourth of the new ones, was now accepted.

In the principal article our earl gave great satisfaction to his royal master. The duke of Cumberland, already put at the head of the British forces, was by the ambassador's industry appointed commander in chief of the confederate army [11]. This appeared as if the Dutch were in earnest; and yet perhaps they only complimented a foreign prince at the expence of their own. The young duke was deservedly the favourite of a brave people, as well as of their king. First of the Hanover line born in England, he had shewn himself at Dettingen worthy of the title of a British prince, and possessed all the military ardor of his father. But these very circumstances, joined to the superiority of his rank, which put him above the controul of a colleague [12], must even then have alarmed confederate people. They must have been shocked to see that with inferior forces he was suffered to encounter the ablest general of the age, placed at the head of an army exercised in many campaigns, and fighting under the eyes of their king. I know that, nearly under the same disadvantages, the son of Edward III. defeated a French army, and made the king his prisoner. But the commander of that army was not a marshal de Saxe; and men such as the black prince are seldom met with more than once in the annals of any nation.

As the great superiority of the French troops over those, with 1745. which the duke entered the field, was sufficiently known, a defensive campaign might have been most eligible, at least till a fresh supply of auxiliary forces could be procured. But this by no means suited with the disposition of the young general. The plan which the king and his ministers had settled at St. James's, and which the English ambassador was instructed to communicate to the respective commanders at the Hague, was to wait only till the French were engaged in a siege, and then to attack their divided army [13].

This project might have succeeded, had the inequality been less, or the secret better kept. But the enemy were apprised of the design, and had with great skill prepared to render it ineffectual. Their lines were made almost inaccessible by the art of their engineers, and impregnable as well as destructive by their artillery. Such notwithstanding was the intrepid behaviour both of the national and electoral troops; such was the gallantry of the royal chief [14], that the issue was like to have been as glorious as it proved fatal to the confederates. Their formidable column, intrepid and unshaken, had driven the whole force of the enemy, and there remained only a small reserve to encounter, much inferior to a body of eight thousand Hanoverians, which had unaccountably been dismissed [15]. But this reserve, consisting chiefly of Irish regiments [16], was sufficient to repel the last efforts of men, led for the third time to destruction, thinned by the enemy's cannon, wearied out with the slaughter they had made, and retiring with this consolation, if it could be one, that they yielded the palm to their own countrymen.

1745. Had this fatal event, convincing as it was that no good could be expected from the continuation of the war, produced the same effect upon the sanguine monarch and his temporizing minister as it did upon lord Chesterfield, the nation perhaps would have profited by the disappointment. France, especially after the loss of Cape Breton, was sufficiently disposed to balance accounts. It was not her interest that the king of Prussia should aggrandize himself, even at the expence of the house of Austria. To maintain an equilibrium between these two powers, she was ready to favour the election of the grand duke of Tuscany to the imperial dignity. The other points in dispute might easily have been adjusted, and the contending powers would all have been benefited by a cessation of hostilities. The elevation of a stadtholder would still have taken place, but in a more secure and less tumultuous manner. The wealth, the strength, the honor of the British nation would no longer have been sacrificed to foreign interest, the rebellion would not have ensued, or at least would not have remained so long uncrushed, and one useful lesson would have saved the repeated mortifications of succeeding campaigns.

Lord Chesterfield had long wished for an opportunity of rewarding the services of his chaplain; and this opportunity offered while he was at the Hague. A vacancy having happened in the bench of bishops in Ireland, lord Chesterfield wrote to lord Harrington who was then with the king at Hanover, recommending doctor Chenevix to the vacant see. He received a polite answer, rejecting in civil terms the recommendation. Lord Harrington at the same time assured lord Chesterfield,

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that

that his Majesty would accept of any other person he should name, and therefore advised him to *look out* for another bishop; to which lord Chesterfield replied, that he begged his lordship would desire the king to *look out* for another lord lieutenant. The reply had its effect; doctor Chenevix was made bishop of Killaloe, and a few months after translated without opposition to the see of Waterford.

The business of the embassy being finished, the earl received his fresh credentials, and took leave of the states general, eight days after the battle of Fontenoy. The discourse which he delivered on this occasion, was a short, lively, and indirect reply to Fenelon's farewell speech. He described the advantages arising from the close union of the British and Dutch nations, an union not the effect of transient views or accidental junctures, but the consequence of their reciprocal and invariable interests, pointed out by their respective situations, and confirmed by the uninterrupted experience of almost a century. This was artful, as it recalled to the states the dreadful effects of their former dissensions, and in particular the imminent danger which their country had so narrowly escaped in 1672; a danger which as it now again hung over their heads, could only be avoided by adhering closely to their alliance with Great Britain. He likewise expressed his grateful regard for their high mightinesses, and his attachment to the republic. The states, in return to the ambassador's professions, testified in their letter to his sovereign, their esteem for the talents, abilities, and prudence, of so eminent a negotiator [17].

The early close of the session of the British parliament this year, permitted the monarch to revisit his electoral dominions.

1745. Lord Chesterfield arrived at his house in London the same day that the king set out from Harwich, and was deprived of the honor of delivering to him a verbal account of his embassy. It is a matter of doubt whether this was altogether the effect of chance; but as his landing at Dublin some months after happened also the same day that the king arrived in England, it may be suspected that neither of the parties was desirous of an interview as cold as the preceding had been.

The representations, which his excellency made to the regency [18], of the dispositions of the Dutch, and of the state of their affairs, were by no means calculated to recommend a perseverance in measures which they had agreed with him to discourage. But the earl's colleagues had now altered their notions; nor could the further successes of the French in the course of this year, the four victories of the Prussian king, the advantages gained by the Spaniards and their new allies the Genoese in Italy, nor even the alarms of the rebellion at home, disturb them from their unaccountable security. Flushed with the conquest of Cape Breton [19], and buoyed up with expectations from new expeditions, new negotiations and new subsidies, they received with coldness the proposals of the French ministers at the Hague, for assembling a congress, and putting an end to the war. Instead of availing themselves of the intelligence procured by the ambassador, and agreeable to their stipulations of making use of the full power they had to bring about a peace, they determined to continue the war, and lord Chesterfield was prevented from making any further remonstrances, by being obliged to set out for Ireland, in consequence of the breaking out of the rebellion in Scotland [20].

The situation of domestic affairs, indeed, was such as to re-1745. quire the most prudent management, as well as most vigorous exertion of power, in the several parts of the British empire. England, which was supposed to be out of reach of danger, was suddenly struck *from a cloud that seemed to be at first no bigger than a man's hand*[21]. The rebellion that broke out about the middle of this year, too much despised in the beginning, soon became formidable from the weak efforts made to crush it proving ineffectual.

The landing of a young and daring adventurer, the sudden and almost total submission of Scotland, the surprizing and routing of an English army by a handful of rebels, were the harbingers of still greater misfortunes. An undisciplined band of mountaineers, hardened by their climate and their zeal, were led on by a few ruined desperate chiefs, who by a sudden invasion, attempted to shake their sovereign's throne. In their hopes of reinforcements they were disappointed, but having seized upon Carlisle, unaccountably unprovided, they as unaccountably pursued their wonderful march towards London. The western road being left open to them, they did not fear to be overtaken by marshal Wade, who kept the eastern; and while he slowly crossed the country to measure the tract they ran over, they nearly gave the slip to the more alert duke of Cumberland. An universal alarm was now spread, and instead of asking whether the ministry had any design to extinguish the rebellion, it came to be asked whether it was in their power[22]. Every day gave rise to false reports from the secret well-wishers to the cause, and from the ministerial quarter[23]. Public credit was affected, jobbers were encouraged to advance money at extravagant

1745. ^{vagant} rates, and great men to raise inactive regiments at their own expence [24]. The attachment of the nation to the reigning line of princes, under whom alone their liberties and religion could be preserved, was not more conspicuous than their anxiety in being at once deprived of those blessings, and one hundred thousand people in arms dreaded the approach of eight thousand banditti, ill clothed, ill armed, and ill fed. This crisis did not last long. The rebels stopped at Derby, and as nothing had kept up their spirits but the celerity of their march, they no sooner halted, but their courage failed them. Fresh divisions broke out among the chiefs, the motley crew could no longer be kept together at such distance from home, and they agreed in nothing but in turning back. Their retreat was as expeditious as their progress had been, they still had the good fortune to out-run the royal army, and next year that of surprizing and putting to rout an unguarded general. But this slight advantage accelerated their ruin. The duke pursued them into the heart of their country. They were again forced to fly before him, and being pushed to the northern extremity of the island were in sight of their own mountains completely defeated by him.

There was reason to apprehend still greater danger in Ireland. The state of government there was more unsettled, and civilization less advanced. Men deprived of their property, or rendered uneasy in the possession of it, were naturally inclined to change. As it was obviously the interest of the pretender to tempt his fortune in that island which had so long supported the king he claimed his descent from; so it was natural that he should make a last effort in the third kingdom, after having been disappointed

disappointed in the two former. The number of his friends ^{1745.} there was supposed to be much more considerable. A constant intercourse had subsisted between the descendents of the court at S. Germans, and the Irish, who from their connection and prejudices, were inclined to the same side; and the French were much more at hand to assist them.

Far from being terrified by these unfavorable appearances, Lord Chesterfield set out with great alacrity for his government the last day of August. But before he left England, he was willing to shew that he intended to govern by himself. The office of principal secretary is not only a place of considerable profit, but it is likewise attended with considerable power, when the lord lieutenant is willing to throw upon another the load of public affairs. If the secretary be capable and enterprising, he becomes the principal, the governor is eclipsed, and shares only the odium, but never the honor, of his substitute's management. Several persons of great abilities as well as experience were accordingly proposed to the earl for that important office. But faithful to the rule he had prescribed to himself in his two embassies, he resolved to make superior abilities no part of the secretary's qualifications. He listened not to the intimations of favorites and ministers, and even resisted the insinuations of friendship which might have determined his choice in favor of Mr. Mallet. The gentleman he preferred was the late Richard Lyddel, esq; member of parliament for Boffiney in Cornwall. That gentleman, he says, in a letter to his son [25], *was a very genteel pretty young fellow, but not a man of business.* This was the circumstance which dictated his choice, and on the first visit his secretary paid him, he told him, *Sir, you will receive*
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1745. *the emoluments of your place, but I will do the business myself, being determined to have no first minister* [26].

In another instance he likewise chose to be singular and peremptory. He openly declared, that if, during his stay in Ireland, any person should make a successful application to the king, for any place in his majesty's gift, through any other channel but his own, he would immediately throw up the lord lieutenancy [27]. Conscious of his integrity, he certainly was right in making this declaration, which perhaps would neither have been decent nor easily attended to, if a man of less resolution and consequence had at that time ventured to make it.

On his landing he found the high character he had acquired, of the greatest service to him. In an island esteemed not less boisterous than the element that surrounds it, he was particularly happy in quieting and captivating the turbulent disposition of the inhabitants; and Cicero, whom he had constantly before his eyes as an orator, became also the object of his imitation in his government.

The Irish parliament assembled the 8th of October. His lordship opened the session in a manner becoming the representative of a great king, addressing himself to a feeling people, with the authority of a ruler, and the affection of a father. His discourse was admired [28], and the dignity as well as gracefulness of his action was a great advantage to it. Truth and virtue, as he said of lord Scarborough, seemed to borrow his voice, and reason spoke the language of the heart. This gave such a weight to what he delivered that he gained unanimous praise and approbation. The august assembly that heard him were convinced

vinced that they might trust him, and that whatever power was lodged in his hands by the king and by themselves, no other use would be made of it but what tended to their safety and happiness.

A military force and money are generally esteemed the two principal engines of government. The one as well as the other are applied for, in times of trouble, with earnestness and avidity, by timid or covetous chiefs. Lord Chesterfield had other resources. He knew, that the fewer wants he discovered, the more certain he should be of finding supplies in case of need; and that the affections of the people being once secured, their persons and purses would be at his service.

The regular troops then in Ireland amounted to so small a number, that they were thought very insufficient for the defence of the kingdom. Accordingly, several persons, for very obvious reasons, advised that four thousand men should be immediately raised. Lord Chesterfield acted differently. The British cabinet were distressed; they continually pressed him for assistance, and he consented to part with four battalions to reinforce the duke's army. These troops, thus transferred from the Irish to the English establishment, were afterwards replaced; but this was done, not by the expensive mode of new regiments, which, from the disposal of the commissions, would have enabled the governor to oblige his friends, and increase the number of his dependents; but by additional companies, in which the officers children, who were desirous of it, were presented with ensigns commissions, which he himself signed by virtue of his majesty's royal sign manual for that purpose.

1745. The same principle of generosity directed him both in his application for supplies, and in the manner of raising them. He asked for no more than £. 607,080, and part of this sum was to be applied to the discharge of a former debt. It was proposed to raise this sum by debentures, which would have been soon filled, if all those who immediately offered to subscribe considerable sums, had found his lordship ready to receive them. He suspected, that the hope of considerable advantage was the motive that made them so pressing; and upon enquiry he found, that these debentures already bore a premium of six *per cent.* This would have been thought a very moderate profit in England. But lord Chesterfield had the good of the people committed to his care too much at heart, not to endeavour to alleviate their burthen. He took the resolution of trying to borrow the money without paying interest for the first year; and this experiment, which had never been attempted before, succeeded to his wish.

A principal article of the expences was the buying of arms for the service of the provinces in case of an invasion. It was computed that thirty thousand firelocks and bayonets and ten thousand broad swords would be necessary, for the purchase of which sixty thousand pounds had been voted. If common contractors had been employed, the money would have been spent, and perhaps the arms would not have been good. Lord Chesterfield chose to employ honest as well as intelligent men, and pitched upon two officers for that service. They were ordered to inspect the arms, and to accept of none but after having proved them. Mr. Chenevix, brother to the bishop, and lieutenant-colonel of the carabineers, had the management of the arms made at

Dublin,

Dublin, and the other officer was sent to Birmingham for the same purpose. They both executed their commission in a manner consistent with their character, and answerable to the noble employer's expectations. There was no defect in the arms, and a saving in the expence of five and twenty thousand pounds. That sum was applied to many public uses, and in particular to the completing of the buildings in the castle.

In a country, where a majority of the inhabitants refused allegiance from motives of conscience, it might have been thought adviseable to express a detestation of these rebellious principles, and a dislike to those who avowed them. The prevailing religion of the country was, with too much reason, looked upon as the nursery of blind zeal, disaffection, and revenge. Though it had not the same number of followers as at the period of the revolution; since, instead of five and thirty to one, which they were then, the Roman catholics were now supposed to be only five times more numerous than the Protestants; yet such a disproportion was alarming. Popery and jacobitism were supposed to be inseparable; and it was thought that the only way to check the progress and prevent the fatal consequences of either, was strictly to carry into execution and enforce the penal laws enacted against both.

Lord Chesterfield could not possibly have been censured, had he conformed to the method practised in the three kingdoms, and particularly at this time in England. Upon the first breaking out of the rebellion, the private Popish chapels in the metropolis had been searched for, and ordered to be shut up, proclamations were issued to compel the priests to leave the capital, and the refractory were imprisoned and threatened with severe punishments.

1745. punishments. The new lord lieutenant did not want for advisers, who pressed him to follow this example. His enlarged notions of humanity and true politics induced him to pursue a different and much wiser course. He allowed the Roman catholics the free use of their religion, and far from attempting to shut up their places of worship, he rather wished them to continue open; and prevented any disturbance from being given to those who resorted to them[29]. His view was to discover whether the people of that denomination remained in the kingdom, or left it to go over to their supposed friends in Scotland. To be informed of that material fact, he took care to engage persons to attend at their chapels and fairs, and received with great satisfaction assurances that they were both as much frequented as ever. A certain proof of the confidence they placed in his promises, and of their desire not to molest government. The deluded adherents to the exiled family were treated with equal lenity and prudence. One of them, a Roman catholic, who had an estate in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and was looked upon as an agent to the pretender, was privately sent for to the castle. "Sir, said lord Chesterfield, I do not wish to inquire whether you have any particular employment in this kingdom, but I know that you have a great interest amongst those of your persuasion. I have sent for you to exhort them to be peaceable and quiet. If they behave like faithful subjects, they shall be treated as such; but, if they act in a different manner, I shall be worse to them than Cromwell." Whether he would have really been so may be doubted; but this conversation, together with his watchful eye, had such an effect, that not one of them stirred during the whole time of the rebellion,

rebellion, and all the informations against particular persons 1745. were found absolutely groundless.

His efforts to remove prejudices, and maintain harmony and benevolence, were seconded by writers whom he encouraged to support the same cause. Dean Swift was still alive, when lord Chesterfield arrived, but reduced to a state of total dotage and insensibility, which one month after ended in his death. This short interval was laid hold of, to publish under his name a new letter of a drapier [30] to the good people of Ireland, and particularly to the poor Papists. It was so much in the dean's stile, and was so greedily received, that it went through a variety of editions in a month's time. Indeed the many strokes of wit and humour that it contained, would induce me to suspect that his lordship had some share in it.

Berkeley, the bishop of Cloyne, employed himself in the same cause, perhaps more usefully than in his recommendation of tar water, or in his dialogues against matter. His letter to the Roman catholics of his diocese was worthy of a Christian bishop. He endeavoured to dissuade his fellow citizens and neighbours from falling into the same errors, which had been so fatal to their fathers; and, appealing to their reason, convinced them that their situation was as advantageous as they could wish it to be, and that it would be the height of imprudence to engage in a dangerous cause, to which neither interest did invite, nor "conscience did oblige them."

Reason never speaks in vain; the most hardened are insensibly softened by its voice. The Irish priests, sensible of the gentleness of the present administration, co-operated with their Protestant brethren to maintain order and tranquillity. Their
pastoral

1745. pastoral letters, public discourses from the pulpit, and private admonitions, were equally directed for the service of government.

The ill-grounded apprehensions of the friends to the present system were not less to be guarded against, than the enterprises of its enemies. This was by much the most difficult task; but lord Chesterfield was equally successful in encouraging the former and disarming the latter. By constantly appearing to be afraid of nothing [31], he spread an universal belief that nothing was to be feared, and by the ridicule he threw upon the violent measures which were proposed to him, he manifested his desire of abstaining from them till there was real danger.

In the mean while, he neglected no precautions, and prepared himself for all events [32]. If the rebellion had reached Ireland, he had taken the resolution of commanding the army in person. Though he was himself no soldier, he believed that he could assist with his counsels those who were. In a conversation which he had with his chaplain, he told him that he would never submit to the pretender's government, but play with him double or quits. This, he said, was an expression which he borrowed from the earl of Devonshire, in answer to a message which he received at his seat in Derbyshire from king James II, upon the landing of the prince of Orange. That unfortunate monarch was weak enough to offer him, that if he would be his friend, he would remit the fine of thirty thousand pounds sterling laid on him for having struck a person within the verge of the court.

The protestants in general gave on this occasion uncommon marks of zeal. All of them were not equally acceptable. Some great

great men applied for leave to raise regiments; but this proposal ^{1745.} was rejected by lord Chesterfield. He thought it burthenfome to the state, useless in point of service, and only calculated to promote private views. No man hated a job, and despised jobbers, more than he.

On a very different footing were the associations formed by the Protestants of different provinces, and especially of those which might have been most exposed to insurrections from within, or attempts from abroad. To be armed, and ready for defence, could at no time be improper; and those who, sensible of the blessings they enjoyed under a settled government, put themselves in a condition to fight for what is most dear to men, their laws, liberty, and religion, must at all times be an overmatch against private incendiaries or audacious invaders. This laudable spirit displayed itself and was encouraged in a particular manner in different parts of the kingdom. The county of Antrim alone furnished upwards of thirty thousand men; and the city of Dublin provided a regiment of horse militia consisting of six thousand men, three of foot of two thousand men each, besides several independent companies, and a corps of three hundred men volunteers [33].

As it was owing to the lord lieutenant's vigilance and resolution that the French and Spaniards did not attempt to land any troops in Ireland during the time of the rebellion, it was likewise an effect of his prudence and moderation that the horrors of a civil war did not reach that country. Distinctions of parties seemed to be abolished, and animosities to be forgotten as well as prejudices and suspicions. Religion became what it ought to be, a bond of union instead of an instrument of discord: superstition was

1745. was enlightened, and fanaticism disarmed. Hence a phenomenon took place, not often beheld in times of tranquillity. Protestants and Roman catholics, natives and strangers, well-wishers and enemies to the pretender, all alike influenced by the example of their benevolent governor, indulged, respected, and would have loved one another, if he had continued a longer time among them.

It is the province of history to perpetuate the transactions of an administration, which it will ever be the interest of future lord lieutenants to study and to imitate. Unprovided as we are with sufficient materials, we must content ourselves with mentioning a few detached facts and general observations, which have been transmitted to us [34].

Lord Chesterfield, on his arrival in Ireland, found himself obstructed in his desire of rewarding merit and public services. The reversion of places granted by his predecessors to their friends left him but little to bestow. He resolved not to give the same reason of complaint to his successors. He accordingly never would grant any reversion; and even resisted the solicitations of a person for whom he had a particular regard; being determined, as he told one of his friends, to leave the kingdom with clean hands in every respect.

He thought the only honest and effectual methods to be employed with regard to Roman catholics, were good usage, supporting the charity schools, and adhering strictly to the gavel act [35]. The Popish religion and influence could not, he said [36], be subdued by force, but might be undermined and destroyed by art. Slight of hand was necessary rather than a heavy hand. He therefore wished that the law by which
Papists

Papists are restrained in Ireland from purchasing land was an-1745. nulled. By that indulgence he believed that their money would be kept in the kingdom, the government would have the strongest pledge of their fidelity, and sooner or later the estates would revert to protestants.

A public register of Popish priests, with a limitation of their number, had engaged his thoughts, but he feared that it would be impossible to get the consent of parliament. He found that the members were still too much blinded by prejudices of sect-animosity to treat the subject of Popery with temper and moderation. The late lord Clanbrazil however, some years afterwards, brought into the house of lords a bill of the like nature; but lord Chesterfield's suspicions were verified; the bill was first clogged with unjust clauses, and afterwards rejected.

Among the alterations which he proposed, that which he had most at heart was to dispense all Papists from taking the oaths of supremacy and abjuration, which no real papist could take; but to substitute to these the following solemn form of an oath of allegiance.

"I A. B. duly considering the sacred nature of an oath, and
 "the horrible crime of perjury, which by all religions in the
 "world is justly abhorred as a most damnable sin, do most
 "sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear
 "true allegiance to his majesty king George the second, so help
 "me that great and eternal God, who knows my inmost thoughts,
 "and whom I now most solemnly call upon to attest the truth
 "of them." The person taking such an oath his lordship
 would have obliged to recite indistinctly and deliberately, and

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1745. not be allowed to mutter it over in the indecent manner in which
oaths are generally taken [37].

If his lordship had returned to Ireland, he would have ordered new barracks to be built in those parts of the kingdom which are not amenable to the laws of the country. By this provision he wished to make the inhabitants know that there is a God, a king, and a government [38].

No person in so high a station was ever more easy of access. His door was open generally from nine in the morning to three in the afternoon, to any one who requested an audience. Nobody appeared in fear before him, none retired discontented. His manner of granting favors added to their value; and his refusals were softened with engaging marks of concern. Where he could redress, he did it speedily, and was particularly ready to assist the weak against the oppressions of the strong [39].

During his lordship's residence at Dublin, respect for the dignity of his office as viceroy prevailed over his natural propensities as a man.—No pharaoh table, or high gaming of any kind, was permitted at the castle; he entirely abolished the perquisites of the groom-porter, and, to make it up to an officer on the half-pay who had the place, he procured a pension of sixty pounds for his daughter, and gave his son a commission in the army.

One day at his levee he observed an officer with scars in his face. He found upon inquiry that he was a captain on half-pay, and a person of good character. The scars, he likewise was informed, were the honorable marks of wounds received in his majesty's service. A nobleman of his benevolence wanted no further
recommendation;

recommendation; and the first opportunity that offered he gave 1745.
a company to that brave man.

The pay of the officers of the yeomen of the guards having been represented to him as insufficient, it was raised at his solicitation. But no one had spoken to him in favor of the private men; whom however he thought equally intitled to an augmentation. One evening, as he returned to the castle, attended by some of the yeomen, called in Dublin *battle axes*, he told one of them, I suppose you have heard that the pay of your officers has been raised. Why don't you apply to some of your friends to speak to me in your favor? Upon their answering that they had no friends, he asked them, what do you think of me? I am sure you deserve an increase as well as your officers, and I will be your friend. He accordingly soon afterwards raised their pay.

He procured, unasked, the title of earl of Bleffington to lord viscount Montjoy, in consequence of the steady attachment of that family to the Protestant interest. Lord Montjoy's lady, who was an heiress of a distinguished family, and greatly attached to an only son a most promising youth [40], was very much surpris'd when he complimented her on that occasion. He likewise procured the same distinction for two other viscounts, viz. for the late lord Tyrone father to the present earl, and for lord Grandison.

Soon after lord Chesterfield's return from his first embassy in Holland, Dr. Berkeley presented him with his *Minute Philosopher*, which was just then published, and met with uncommon approbation. His lordship esteemed the author still more than the book; but no intimacy subsisted between them. When he came to Dublin,

1745. with the power as well as desire of rewarding merit, he embraced the first opportunity of shewing his regard for so respectable a character, and accordingly made an offer to the Doctor of changing his bishopric of Cloyne for that of Clogher, which was of a much greater value. This consideration had no influence upon a philosopher, who had nothing little in his composition. He could not bear even the suspicion of having been bribed to write in favor of government, and therefore declined the exchange.

The most distinguished persons in Ireland for their talents and merit were those with whom lord Chesterfield was the most intimate. He used chiefly to consult the lord chancellor Jocelyn, Dr. Stone then bishop of Derry and afterwards through his interposition raised to the primacy, Anthony Malone prime serjeant, Sir Richard Cox, lord chief justice Singleton afterwards master of the rolls, Mr. Foster now lord chief baron, and especially Dr. Edward Synge bishop of Elphin. He entertained the highest opinion of Dr. Synge's integrity and abilities, and from motives of regard for him promoted his brother from the archdeaconry of Dublin to the see of Killaloe. A person having told lord Chesterfield that the public was at a loss to know by what interest he had been made a bishop, his answer was because he thought his brother the bishop of Elphin deserved two bishoprics.

1746. There was no opposition raised in either of the houses of parliament during lord Chesterfield's administration. A small flame only was kindled in the house of commons just before the close of the session, which was soon extinguished. As this trifling dispute had been raised by the master of the Rolls, the lord

lieutenant sent for him, and after having heard what he had to ^{1746.} say in vindication of his conduct, "Master," said his excellency, "you must do the king's business, or be turned out of your employment, and if you are, I shall not do with you as they do in England, for you shall never come in again as long as I have any power." The master finding the lord lieutenant so peremptory, was glad to submit. If his post had become vacant during the time of his administration, he intended to have procured it for Mr. Anthony Malone; but to have obliged him to assist the lord chancellor as the master of the rolls does in England, whereas in Ireland the place was a mere sine-cure.

Though compliments, and especially in verse, bestowed upon persons in high stations, are seldom to be depended on, yet when they come from different quarters, and particularly when they express the language of the heart, and remain uncontradicted, even though nothing more is to be feared or expected from those to whom they are addressed, truth may be gathered from them. The Irish muses were very fruitful in their productions in praise of lord Chesterfield while governor of Ireland, as well as of the countess [41]; and, it would be equally difficult to enumerate them, and to point out the best. One of the shortest may be seen in the note [42]; and, if I am not mistaken, the ode, which was inscribed to his lordship on his receiving the seals of secretary of state in England, may not be thought unworthy of the place which I have given it in the appendix.

What has been said of verses holds equally good in regard to common dedications, the value of which is exactly in an inverse ratio to what the authors receive or expect for their panegyric.

The

1746. The following address, therefore, by the contrary rule, may claim an exception. It came from Mr. Prior, a gentleman who had an estate of about £500 a year, and, what is preferable to any estate, a communicative disposition without any selfish views. Lord Chesterfield offered him an employment, but he refused it, saying that he wanted nothing, and would not accept of any thing. As he had every scheme at heart, which he thought for the advantage of his country, and was an intimate friend of bishop Berkeley, he caught his enthusiasm, and became a public advocate in favor of tar-water. To the narrative of cases which he published this year, he prefixed a dedication to the lord lieutenant. Such a man might be mistaken in his opinion of medicine, but could not be bribed in favor of any *person*; and we may believe him, when he gives to a nobleman whom he refused for his patron, a head to discern, and a heart to apply; when he holds forth to posterity his administration as founded on a thorough knowledge of the interests of the country; when he represents his management as equally generous of his own, and frugal of the public treasure; and, lastly, when he owns himself at a loss which to admire most, the true policy or the probity of the governor.

The physico-historical society, established two years before at Dublin, with a view to make inquiries concerning the natural and civil history of the different counties in Ireland, in order to perpetuate their antiquities, and to introduce useful improvements, consulted their own interests as well as the public voice in electing their new governor for their president. He became their patron, encouraged their pursuits, and received this year the first fruits of their labours in the description of the antient
and

and present state of the county and town of Waterford, which ^{1746.} was dedicated to him by Mr. Charles Smith the author. "The
 " tract now offered to your lordship," says the dedicator, "though
 " but a description of a remote corner of the kingdom, may
 " afford some idea of the country, which, under your ex-
 " cellency's prudent administration, has the happiness to enjoy
 " a serenity at present unknown to the greatest part of Europe;
 " and it is not doubted, but that, under your influence, she will
 " become every day more and more an additional increase of
 " strength and honor to the neighbouring kingdom, which has
 " so long nourished and protected her."

That these were the sentiments and expectations of the whole nation, appears from the warm expressions of all the public bodies, on the lord lieutenant's preparing for his return to England, but especially from the silence of envy, both at that time and ever after. To be as much regretted when he quitted his employment as he had been extolled when he entered upon it, is a glory singularly attached to the earl of Chesterfield, whose name still continues dear to that grateful and respectable people. His bust placed in the castle does him the greater honor, as it was fixed with public acclamations, and out of part of the savings of the public money.

Truly sensible of the nation's esteem, and conscious that he deserved it, he took his leave of their representatives in parliament, in a speech equally well expressed and received as that which he made on their first meeting. Happy the man, who, speaking of himself, is sure that the voice of the public will be the echo of his own.

1746. Upon his leaving the country, he desired the lord chancellor, the bishop of Elphin, and the lord chief justice, to consider of any laws that might be for the advantage of the kingdom, and to have them ready against his return.

Unfortunately for Ireland, that event never happened. Persons of all ranks, denominations, and religions, followed him with his lady to the water-side, to which he walked, and from which he *publicly* embarked. The bishop of Waterford, who was present at this pleasing but melancholy procession, expresses in the most feeling manner the universal acclamations of the people, who praised him, blessed him, and intreated him to return. But that return became perhaps less necessary, as the complete victory, which providence was pleased to grant to the British army under the command of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland [43] at the battle of Culloden, put a most happy end to the rebellion, and restored quiet to both islands. Yet to a man of Lord Chesterfield's humanity, the scenes which always attend a rebellion must have been particularly distressing.

The affairs of the continent were far from having been amended by the diversion in Scotland; and the new ministry, though masters of a superior interest in parliament, by no means enjoyed the confidence of their sovereign. So little indeed was he satisfied with their management, that he had attempted to recall the dismissed minister, now become earl of Granville, of whose spirit and abilities in continental affairs he entertained a much higher opinion than of those of his rivals. The earl spoke the king's own language, and had done more for the electorate than even his predecessor Walpole. But those who had turned him out before were still against him, and by threatening to resign
all

all together, obliged their master to part with his minister, who 1746.
kept the seals only three days [44].

Before we consider the share which lord Chesterfield had in the administration, and take a view of him as a statesman, after having attended him as a negotiator and a governor, let us be permitted to observe him in the still more interesting character of a father. Not having the happiness of being blessed with a legitimate offspring, he had transferred all his affections upon the natural son before-mentioned, and endeavoured to render him worthy of the name of Stanhope. While still a child, the care of instilling into his mind the rudiments of learning and the principles of morality had been committed to a French clergyman belonging to the same chapel, which his own preceptor had enjoyed [45]. That clergyman's gentleness of manners, and enlarged way of thinking, highly qualified him for such a trust. The famous Mr. Maittaire was at the same time employed in teaching him Latin. From these two masters every thing could be expected except the graces. These are not frequently found at Westminster school, where young Stanhope was sent by his father, and where he acquired a great fund of classical erudition. All this time we behold with pleasure his fond parent, amidst his important functions at Dublin, keeping up a constant correspondence with him, exciting his industry, enjoying his success, and mixing pleasantry with the most endearing admonitions. "As soon as I return to England, says he in one of his letters [46], "there is a book that I shall read over very carefully, a book "that I published not quite fourteen years ago: it is a small "quarto, and though I say it myself, there is something good "in it, but at the same time it is incorrect, and so inaccurate

1746. "that I must have a better edition of it published, which I will
 "carefully revise and correct. It will soon be much more ge-
 "nerally read than it has been yet, and therefore it is necessary
 "that it should *prodire in lucem multo emendatior.*"

Had lord Chesterfield proposed to himself no other view than to make his son fit for the middle, and perhaps the more happy station of life, his success would have been complete. But he wished to qualify him for a more shining situation, or, to hazard his own expression, to raise him upon a higher pedestal than his figure would bear. The science of the world is full as necessary as that of books for such a situation, and the young man, though not unfavourably treated by nature, required the assistance of art. The penetrating eye of his father soon discovered to him his son's deficiencies, and he immediately resolved to seek abroad for the remedy, which he despaired of finding at home. His view was to unite what he never had met with before, in any one individual, the solid learning of his own nation and the ease, manners, and graces, which he thought were to be found no where but in France [47]. The war did not permit him to send Mr. Stanhope immediately to that great school of politeness, and he wished to prepare him gradually for those regions of taste, by making him spend a few years in Germany and Italy. To preserve the integrity of his heart untainted, and to cultivate his mind, he put him under the care of Mr. Harte, a gentleman of Oxford [48], who had been recommended to him by his friend lord Lyttelton. That gentleman certainly had none of the amiable connecting qualifications, which the earl wished in his son. But this was not all; as neither the taste, profession, nor indeed person of this new guide, would allow him to attend his
 pupil

pupil in polite company, he too often, especially in Italy, trusted him to his young countrymen, who made him acquainted with the worst. We have reason to suspect that Mr. Harte's partiality to Greek, Latin, German law, and Gothic erudition, rendered him rather remiss in other points. Whoever will take the trouble of tracing the different steps of Mr. Stanhope's education, will perceive that this fundamental error in the plan was the source of all the future mistakes in his conduct. The graces escaped, and some at least of the virtues were lost.

A severe fit of illness obliged lord Chesterfield to have recourse to the faculty, the professors of which he alternately trusted and abused [49]. Thanks however, to them, and the Bath waters, he was soon restored to health.

The important services which his lordship had performed, both in Holland and Ireland, had in a great measure removed his majesty's prejudices against him; and the friend of his youth was likely to recover his former ascendancy over him. The pleasures of private and social life are seldom known to kings. If any person could have inspired the taste of them to the monarch, it would certainly have been a nobleman, not more distinguished by the brilliancy of his conversation, than by the engaging sweetness of his manners. Assiduous in paying his court at those hours when kings may sometimes lay aside majesty and remember they are men, and ready to seize any opportunity to divert and to please, he sometimes succeeded in unbending the brow of his master, and seducing him into a laugh [50]; an art of greater importance than is commonly imagined.

It is therefore by no means surprizing that the sovereign should have wished to draw near to his person the possessor of

1746. that art, and it would be more so that the old and prime minister, as jealous of his power as a lover is of his mistress, should have consented to see him so near the beloved object. But the fear of another favorite still within call [51], made him consent to substitute the only man who could counterbalance a more unpopular but more dangerous rival.

Lord Harrington [52], secretary of state for the northern department, as the duke of Newcastle was for the southern, had long felt the inequality of this association. Convinced of the ruinous tendency of a land war under the present circumstances, he refused to serve any longer with a colleague, who had veered from peace to war [53], and kept him out of the secret of his office. It may be doubted whether he wished that his resignation should be accepted [54], but the king took him at his word, and pressed lord Chesterfield to accept of the seals in a manner which made a refusal impossible, even if he had had no secret view of preparing his son for the same office [55]. Lord Harrington was appointed to succeed him in the government of Ireland.

Thus was lord Chesterfield transferred from a post, where he enjoyed ease, dignity, and profit [56], to one attended with great difficulties, and in the present circumstances with danger. His inducement to accept of this post was noble: it was the motive of a good citizen, the hope of serving his country, and of saving a neighbouring sinking nation.

The state of the United Provinces was indeed critical. Their barrier was pulled down, their frontier laid open, their enemy preparing to overrun their country, their rulers divided, and their people more and more dissatisfied with them. A congress

for a peace had been assembled at Breda, but from the diffi-1746.
culties, which arose among the plenipotentiaries, it was apparent
that an accommodation was at that time by no means desired by
the British and Imperial courts.

Vigorous measures might have been expected to be pursued
by those who shewed so little inclination to peace; vigor how-
ever was not to be expected from them. The queen of Hun-
gary, for want of an early remittance of supplies, could not send
the troops stipulated for in time; the Bavarians, too late engaged,
arrived still later, and prince Charles of Lorrain, the com-
mander in chief, was exposed at Raucoux to the attack of an
enemy, who, by the superiority of numbers, knew how to
secure victory [57].

Under these unfavorable circumstances, the news of lord
Chesterfield's having accepted the seals was received by the
states general with the highest satisfaction. He had constantly
shewn himself the friend of the republic; and though attached
to the interests of the prince of Orange, was by no means
desirous of protracting the war, in order to accelerate his ele-
vation. This rendered the aristocratic party, which still held the
rudder, equally happy in the hopes that the conciliatory
talents of the new secretary would be exerted in procuring a
peace, upon which alone their country's safety, as well as their
own, depended. I have before me a letter from their principal
minister at the conferences at Breda to his lordship, which ex-
pressed the state of the republic and his reliance on the earl's
efforts to save it, in so strong a manner, that I hope the extracts
from it, which I shall insert in a note, will not be unacceptable
to my readers [58].

The

1747. The plan of the next campaign had been settled before lord Chesterfield came into the administration. The expectations that were entertained of its success were alledged as reasons not to listen to the terms of accommodation repeatedly offered by France. The aristocratic party in Holland sent over baron Boetzelaer, to enforce these proposals; but he could not prevail over the enthusiastic spirit of the times. His royal highness the duke of Cumberland was to take the field early with an army of one hundred and forty thousand men, superior by twenty thousand to the utmost force the French could collect. The new secretary of state was, much against his will, hurried away by the torrent into the very measure which he had most opposed. But he did not fail to protest against it; and was assured, that if this effort did not prove effectual it should be the last, and the next offers which France or Spain might make, should be forthwith accepted [59].

Lord Chesterfield, however, was soon convinced that it would be very difficult to succeed in his great object. His colleague left him scarce a shadow of power. The disposal of every place, the secret correspondences abroad, the desertion of those friends whom himself had introduced, all conspired to convince him, "that all his art and address, though diversified into a greater variety of shapes and colours than the Proteus of the poets was supposed capable of assuming [60], would still be insufficient to get the better of royal prejudices and ministerial versatility."

But if his hands were to be tied, he was resolved to preserve the use of his eyes. He availed himself of the king's personal regard, and of his credit with Mr. Pelham, to procure the nomination of a resident at the Hague in whom he could confide.

This

This gentleman was Mr. Dayrolles, whom we have mentioned ^{1747.} before [61]. From that intelligent and faithful minister's informations lord Chesterfield was soon convinced of what he previously suspected, that the bad management of the war was at least equal to the obstinacy with which it was continued.

In one particular the event seemed to answer the promises of the minister. The national forces first took the field. They were made to quit their winter quarters before the end of March, and were encamped by the middle of the following month. As the spring advanced, the year itself was not so forward as the expectations raised at home of their exploits. Unhappily the magazines had been so much neglected, that instead of snatching some considerable advantage, the troops were forced to rest upon their arms for six weeks together, making war against the elements. This bravado, as well as the vain attempt upon Antwerp, were treated with a mortifying contempt by marshal Saxe; who, calm and unmoved in his cantonments, said, "when my antagonist has sufficiently weakened his army, I will convince him, "that the first duty of a general is to provide for its preservation [62]."

He strictly kept his word; and while his enemies were hovering about in marches and counter-marches, detachments from his army, under Lowendahl and Contades, made an irruption into Dutch Flanders, took, almost without resistance, the most important fortresses, and subdued the whole province in less than a month.

This step, it must be owned, was more a proof of superior generalship than of wise politics. Instead of forcing the Dutch to conclude a separate peace, and throw themselves into the hands
of

1747. of France, the people were roused into indignation and fury. The magistrates of the towns, whom they accused of treachery [63], were discarded; a stadtholder was tumultuously forced upon the States, and the revolution, in favor of the prince of Orange, was the work of a few days.

This event changed the face of affairs, and threw a sudden damp upon the projects of the enemy. If a rash engagement had been avoided, agreeably to the wishes of the new stadtholder [65], if the action of Laufelt had proved fortunate, or even if a sensible use had been made of that defeat, this campaign would have been the last, and lord Chesterfield would have had the satisfaction of contributing to the re-establishment of the peace on a solid and lasting basis [66].

It is well known, that in the evening of that day in which the gallant general Ligonier risked his life and lost his liberty to save both the army and his royal general, the French king, to whom he was presented, received him with all the regard due to his rank and merit. He asked him [67] in a most condescending style and manner, when he might hope to obtain peace from his sovereign, and ordered his generals to enter into conference with him upon the subject. The terms proposed were by no means dictated by an enemy flushed with success and the spirit of conquest: they were moderate, and more favorable than those that were accepted at Aix-la-Chapelle. But the new ministers in Holland, and the cabinet at St. James's, thought proper, notwithstanding lord Chesterfield's intreaties, to refer the articles to the congress, for the same reason, says his apologist, that mysterious points of faith are referred to general councils, to be frittered away in squabbles without end.

The

The stadtholder's cabinet was divided. The moderate wished ^{1747.} that his establishment might be the work of leisure and tranquillity; the more zealous were desirous to avail themselves of the present ferment, fears, and distress, to increase his power. This last party prevailed. To spirit up our ministers, and impede the opening of the congress, count Bentinck and his brother were deputed to London. The state of their country did not seem to alarm them; they were sanguine in their hopes, and lavish in their offers. Neither did the siege of Bergen-op-zoom, or the unaccountable taking of it, alter their sentiments, or at least their expressions. It seems doubtful, whether the loss of that important fortress was not much and purposely over-rated by the anti-republican party, as it furnished a pretence for settling of the stadtholdership in the female line of the Orange family, for taking from the magistrates the disposal of city employments, and for annexing to the State the revenue of the posts, which hitherto had been in private hands.

Lord Chesterfield's pacific dispositions were so well known [68], that the deputies did not chuse to explain themselves with him about the real object of their mission. Zealous as he was for the restoration of the stadtholder to the dignity of his ancestors, he thought the decisive moment had been lost, and that the miscarriages of the state might bring on a new revolution less to his advantage than the former. The prince's authority seemed to him sufficiently established if peace were once made. He conceived, that in that case the stadtholder would have influence enough to carry any constitutional point, that no wise prince ought to wish for more, and that a further increase of power ought not to be sought for at the hazard of ruining the state. The fate

1747. both of the republic and of Great Britain, he said, was now at stake, and he saw no prospect of either better cards or better play next year, than the ministers had had in this [69].

Among the reasons which prudent people had to be alarmed at the present situation of the Dutch, the low state of their finances was not the least. Holland alone was supposed to be indebted about forty millions sterling, a prodigious sum for so small a country. The decay of the commerce and manufactures, together with the discouragement of the inhabitants, the high taxes, and the mode of levying them, afforded but an indifferent prospect for raising such sums as might be required for the defence of the state. The extraordinary demand for money, however, pointed out an extraordinary mode of taxation. This was called a free gift; but might rather be termed a contribution laid upon the inhabitants, in proportion to their fortunes. Those who possessed two hundred pounds or upwards were rated at two *per cent.* of their estate; one *per cent.* was expected from those who were worth between one and two hundred; and the poorer sort were left at liberty to give what they pleased, provided they gave something. Every one was ordered to come to the *stadthouse*, and bring with him the amount of what he was to pay, in cash, notes, or plate, and after taking an oath that he had made the estimation of his estate to the best of his knowledge, he threw, without being seen, what he had brought into a locked trunk, through a slit provided for the purpose. This mode of taxation first took place in Holland, but was afterwards adopted by the other provinces, and even extended to the Dutch colonies in the East and West Indies [70].

Lord

Lord Chesterfield, who, it must be owned, was rather inclined ^{1747.} to despondency on many occasions, entertained a very indifferent opinion of this method of raising a supply. He did not think that the produce would any way be equal to the expectations of the state, and much less to its wants [71]. In this last article he certainly was right; but he undervalued the readiness of the Dutch to throw in their mite for the preservation of their country, and their honesty in doing it faithfully. There never was any suspicion but that the oath was as conscientiously observed as it was cheerfully taken [72]; and though the whole produce has never been known, it certainly amounted to a very considerable sum, and was by some conjectured to have been no less than five millions sterling.

The money thus collected was intended in part to pay for the troops that were to be employed next year. A most extraordinary army was to be formed, consisting of 132,000 men; *viz.* Austrians 66,000 in British pay, and as many at the expence of the Dutch. Experience, however, had so well convinced lord Chesterfield of the fallacy of the accounts for the preceding years, that he by no means trusted to this. He foresaw that the greater part of these troops would never reach the scene of action; or at least that they would not come till the French had stricken another, and perhaps a decisive, blow.

The only measure that the earl approved of, was the negotiation with Russia; but this measure, to have had its effect, should have been concluded long before the end of the year. The best part of it, on the contrary, was consumed in altercations with the Dutch about their proportion of the charge; and when they, at the instigation of the prince of Orange, had consented to the

1747, terms proposed in England, and appeared pressing to have the treaty concluded, the British cabinet were still undetermined, and did not conclude till the middle of November. Neither could lord Chesterfield prevail to have these troops conveyed by sea, which would have been a great saving both of the expence and time. They began a tedious march of two thousand leagues in the winter, and, with the utmost diligence, could not possibly have arrived till the campaign was over.

This negociation, however, greatly alarmed the French. Their defeats at sea, the destruction of their naval strength, the decay of their manufactures and commerce, the distress and danger of their colonies, the misery which began to rage in the internal parts of the kingdom, induced them to wish to terminate a war which, however glorious, was much more detrimental to them than to their enemies [73]. The terms were short; nothing for France, and very little for their allies [74]. Our earl did not fail to use his endeavours to induce his colleagues not to let slip this opportunity. He insisted, "that they were never to hope for better terms; that, though Holland should at last incline to co-operate in earnest, they had demurred till this nation was exhausted; that, for his part, he had undertaken to assist in carrying on the war only for one campaign, or till either France or Spain should be brought to reason; and that he would take care to be no longer answerable for the issue of a measure which he had never approved." The answer was, "that a separate peace with Spain was not to be wished; and that, if the two crowns were once separated, the breach would never be closed; and that a minister's conduct ought not to regard months and sessions, but all futurity [75]." A noble language

language if it had been properly supported; but ill suited to a 1747.
 leader without plan either for peace or war, and, as our noble
 lord expressed it, always at the top or the bottom of the house,
 and never in the middle floor:

A separate negociation with Spain had in truth been carried on for some time; but with the same want of design, expedition, and perseverance. Nothing could be more favorable than the present circumstance. The French king of Spain was dead; the queen had lost her influence, and the new monarch, who was not her son, seemed inclined to give peace to his country. The marquis de Tabernega, a Spanish nobleman exiled from his country, though a sort of a favorite with the present king, having taken up his residence at London, assumed to himself the conduct of this negociation. He amused the ministers with vain hopes, and was himself amused with insignificant informations from his country. This reciprocal amusement became more serious, when Mr. Wall [76], an Irish gentleman, employed as major general in the Spanish service, came over furnished with proper powers to open a treaty. He was desired to confer upon that matter with the marquis, and it was a remarkable circumstance that as a British-born subject was employed to negotiate the interests of Spain at the British court, a native Spaniard was employed by that court to negotiate the interests of Great Britain. Their conferences were fruitless, and those who know the ascendancy which the Sardinian minister had acquired, were not surpris'd that no conditions could be accepted, but with his and his master's approbation [77].

Then it was that lord Chesterfield, having attempted in vain 1748.
 by a masterly memorial, in which he painted in true colors the

1748. state of Europe and of his own country, to open the eyes of the council, and finding that he could engage but one of the members to side with him, thought fit to retire. He had given hints of this design in several letters to his intimate friend Mr. Dayrolles; but did not declare to him before the 26th of January his final resolution, which he executed on the 6th of the following month.

During this interval, it still fell to his lot to do service to his country: for though the power was lodged in other hands, the active part of office, at least that which required parts and dexterity, was commonly left to him. In the beginning of the year, he answered an artful memorial, given in by the Prussian minister in the name of his master, to claim for his flag and ships an exemption of search and other privileges, granted to particular powers, but never by treaty to that of Prussia. Lord Chesterfield's reply united all the precision of argument, and firmness for the honor of the crown, to the personal regard which he thought due to the Prussian monarch, and always expressed for him. He was the adviser of the new efforts that were made to induce that prince to take part with his natural allies; and his last work was to draw up the instructions, which were given to Mr. Legge, who on the 2d of February was appointed envoy to the court of Berlin [78].

The audience which lord Chesterfield had of his majesty on resigning the seals, passed in a very different way from that which he had four years before when he took leave on setting out for his embassy. The king urged him to retain his office, and expressed his satisfaction of the manner in which he had filled it. His lordship's answer was, that he found he could be but an useless

servant,

servant, and that his honor and conscience did not permit him 1748. to continue in a post, in which he had not been suffered to do any one service to any one man; and in which his master himself was not at liberty to distinguish those who had his service most at heart. The monarch was not offended at this freedom. He even offered to give him personal marks of his satisfaction either by a pension or the title of duke. These offers were declined, and only one of the places at the board of admiralty for his brother John Stanhope accepted [79]. In return he begged leave to assure his majesty, that though he ceased now to be in his immediate service, he would never cease to give him proofs of his respectful attachment, and, reserving to himself the liberty of giving his vote on national points as his reason should direct him, he would keep himself entirely clear of cabals and opposition. The part, he added, I shall take upon any question, shall only be known in parliament. The situation of the subject at that instant appears more to be envied, than that of the monarch.

Having thus conducted the earl to the period of his retreat, we should here close this section; but as the measures consequent upon his resignation evidently proved both the propriety of that step, and the justness of his lordship's predictions, it may not be thought improper to extend this part to the conclusion of the peace.

The necessity of making one on the best terms soon appeared, by the unprovided condition in which the states were left. One of the prince of Orange's ministers, who last year had been so sanguine in representing that the republic was in no danger, now came over on purpose to contradict the former reports. He owned

1748. owned that it was impossible the republic should withstand the efforts of their enemy without extraordinary assistance, and Marshal Saxe made that circumstance still more evident by his unexpected enterprise on Maestricht. The king, finding the language of his allies so materially and so suddenly altered, could not help saying, *Chesterfield told me six months ago that it would be so* [80].

If our earl's prophecies shewed the necessity of a peace, his resignation at last inspired his former colleague and his successor the duke of Bedford with the desire of accepting it. Three days only after his resignation, the British plenipotentiary, who had been sent to Aix-la-chapelle with orders to procrastinate, received new instructions to lose no time in signing the preliminary articles.

It was a very fortunate circumstance that his most Christian majesty still continued in his pacific dispositions. The consideration of the distressed state of his kingdom, concurred with his love of ease to make him weary of war. His ministers accommodated their politics to his wishes; and as they did not much rise in their demands, the English ambassador seized the critical instant, and restored peace to Europe.

This fortunate event saved one state from destruction, the other perhaps from bankruptcy. It maintained the stadtholder in his dignity, and secured some ministers from the consequences of their delusion. Let me add, that it likewise exempted our earl from signing articles somewhat less advantageous than those he would have obtained the year before, and from setting his name to the only ignominious circumstance with which the treaty was laden.

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SECTION VI.

LORD Chesterfield's resignation, at a time of life when he ^{1748.} could still have rendered essential services to his country, might have been considered as the effect of sudden passion, or as an artful attempt at full power, had not the state of his mind as well as that of his body required ease and tranquillity. The frequent attacks of giddiness he lately had been seized with, made rest and quiet necessary for him; and his extreme delicate way of thinking confirmed him in the resolution of indulging himself with them. He found, that ministers are frequently obliged from political reasons to prefer the most unworthy persons to those who are the most worthy; and to prostitute to importunity and undeserving greediness the rewards of merit. He therefore determined to renounce the pursuits of ambition, and, though still upon the watch to serve his country, to live for himself, and to divide his time between social pleasures, paternal cares, and mental enjoyments. Nor does it appear, that he was on any occasion tempted to venture again his frail vessel upon that boisterous sea, from which, after having been long tossed about, he now found himself securely arrived in port. To put

1748. some interval between life and death was always the wish of the wife; and happy are those who are able to do it.

But this philosophical retirement which lord Chesterfield proposed to himself, and in which he passed the last five and twenty years of his life, at the same time that it attracts the admiration of the thinking part of mankind, and may, perhaps, excite the envy of those who have it not in their power to embrace it, affords much less matter of entertainment. Our earl's life now ceases to be connected with the history of his country; and, though we shall still keep to the form of annals we have adopted, we shall content ourselves with placing under the several years such unconnected facts as are come to our knowledge, and may be interesting to our readers.

We think ourselves obliged to mention, not without much concern, that the very day lord Chesterfield bad farewell to the cares of administration, he renewed his evening visits at White's [1], which had been interrupted for four years. He likewise made a short excursion to Bath, not so much on account of the waters, as to avoid being in London while he was the chief subject of conversation.

For some time lord Chesterfield had turned his thoughts towards the part he intended to act, which was, according to the expression he borrowed from Tully, to enjoy ease with dignity. The building of a house for himself, in which he wished to unite magnificence with convenience and taste, had occupied his thoughts for some time; and we see in most of his letters to his friends how much he had it at heart. He succeeded in it to his wish, and was particularly pleased with the two apartments he most frequented; the one being a kind of private room or
7 parlour,

parlour, which he called his *boudoir*, ornamented with great elegance and richness; the other, his library [2], stocked with a noble collection of books, and adorned with the portraits of several of the most eminent authors. 1748.

This new house not being quite finished, and that which he was going to quit being stripped of some of its furniture [3], lord Chesterfield spent part of the summer in excursions into the country. He passed some time at Cheltenham, and afterwards at Bath, for the sake of his health; and visited with uncommon pleasure his friend lord Pembroke's house at Wilton. He found it so much improved; that he scarce knew it again; and, in its present state, judged it the finest seat in England [4].

But while he was thus amusing himself, he had the misfortune to lose his brother John Stanhope, who died of the gout towards the latter end of the year, and was sincerely regretted by the earl. His affairs, which were somewhat embarrassed, and the family arrangements necessary to be taken on this melancholy occasion, required lord Chesterfield's presence in London, and prevented him from executing his plan of spending some time at Paris [5].

Among other effects, Mr. Stanhope left a villa at Blackheath, upon which he had laid out considerable sums of money. The lease of this villa was for seven years, and could not have been disposed of without great loss. This induced the earl to keep it; and though he would rather have preferred a house in the country towards Richmond, yet he soon grew enamoured with this charming spot. The situation was delightful; commanding one way an extensive prospect over the Thames towards London and

1748. Hampstead; and adjoining on the other side to Greenwich Park,
 into which he had a private door from his own garden.

He therefore bought it, added much to its conveniences by the galleries and other improvements he made to it, and rendered it a country residence entirely fit for his situation and state. He constantly retired there, as soon as the season permitted him to quit his winter habitation; and it was to him, in every respect, what *Tusculum* was to Tully.

1749. One of the tastes which he contracted in this retirement was that of gardening. He did not indeed attend particularly to ornament; nor to the more improving art of raising exotic plants, and uniting in one spot the productions of different climates: for neither of these had he sufficient room, or inclination. But the cultivation of fruit-trees afforded him an useful as well as agreeable amusement; and he succeeded in it so well, that he was generally provided with most excellent productions of all kinds from his own ground. He even challenged his friends, both at home and abroad, to produce melons and pine-apples equal to his in taste and flavour [6].

The decoration of his house engaged also much of his attention; and, in order to compleat it, he had long been in search of original paintings. In this pursuit he was not so anxious with regard to the number as to the quality of the pictures, and his chief view was to have nothing but what was excellent. He wished not so much to have many pieces of the same master, as to possess a few capital ones of the best. He did not at first trust to his own judgement, but relied chiefly upon the taste of those who were esteemed connoisseurs in the art of painting. Sir Luke Schaub was one of the principal. That gentleman,

a native

a native of Switzerland, and employed in very important nego-1749.
 tiations in Europe by the English court, had distinguished
 himself for his knowledge of the works of the most eminent
 painters, and had formed a collection scarce inferior to any in
 this country. Lord Chesterfield was extremely intimate with
 him, and could depend on his opinion; as he also could
 upon that of Mr. Harenc, a French gentleman of distinction,
 who, to enjoy the free exercise of the Protestant religion in
 which he was bred, had retired from Paris with a considerable
 fortune, and settled in England. This gentleman cultivated
 every object of taste, and united in his person the man of
 breeding and of letters, the poet and the wit. He was no less
 skilled in music, and was universally esteemed the best performer
 on the violin among gentlemen. His judgement in Pictures
 was likewise generally acknowledged. He was lord Chesterfield's
 particular friend: and indeed how could he be otherwise, con-
 sidering the variety of his talents, and his neighbourhood to his
 lordship at Blackheath? The earl availed himself much of his
 judgement and taste, and gradually acquired a considerable share
 of knowledge, which however he always declined making a
 shew of, rather chusing to quote his authority in the opinion he
 gave of his pictures [7].

These were lord Chesterfield's amusements. But his principal
 care and employment was his correspondence with his son. He
 had spent two years at the Swiss and German universities of
 Laufanne and Leipzig; and, besides having acquired a confi-
 derable proficiency in the Latin and Greek languages, had been
 trained up to the knowledge of the laws of nations, the con-
 stitutions of the Germanic body, the interests, forces, and ne-
 gotiations

1749. negotiations, of the several princes, and in general in every kind of science the most useful for a man designed for public employments; and was now beginning his travels, in order to acquire the more difficult knowledge of the world. In that, it seems, he had made but little progress, under the learned Mr. Bochat at Laufanne, and the still more learned professor Mascow at Leipzig. The excursions he made to Dresden in vacation time, had indeed made him acquainted with one of the politest courts of Europe; and the encouraging reception he there met with from Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, envoy at that court, and lord Chesterfield's affectionate as well as witty friend [8], might have effectually rubbed off that learned rust, which his father was so fearful he should too long retain. But he did not stay there long enough to be much benefited either by his conversation or example [9]. His short visit to the court of Berlin procured him a most gracious reception from the monarch [10]; and great civilities from Algarotti, Dargens, Cagnoni, Maupertuis, and the other wits whom that prince had chosen for his friends. But even lord Chesterfield did not recommend to him, at that time, and in that place, any other study except that of the civil, military, and ecclesiastical government of that country, and especially of the reformation in the laws introduced by a prince, whom he held out to him as most deserving of his attentive observation [11]. Much less could the court of Vienna, during his short stay there, improve his manners, or put him in possession of the graces. Neither is Italy any longer their seat; though perhaps still the principal school of the arts. But of these lord Chesterfield esteemed only painting and sculpture, and dreaded above all things for his son the

the dangerous allurements of music [12]. Turin was the place ^{1749.} where he intended he should pursue his studies, and be initiated in the world. But a dangerous attack of an inflammation of the lungs, which seized Mr. Stanhope at a place called Laubach, in his passage through the Tyrol, obstructed this course. Venice, Rome, and Naples, were, on account of the climate, substituted to Turin. In these elegant cities he certainly improved his taste, and obtained a competent knowledge of the Italian tongue. The strong recommendations he had to persons eminently qualified to form both his heart and his manners, opened to him the best schools of improvement. But yet it is to be feared, that the company of his countrymen, the first acquaintance with a sex too powerful to be resisted, and above all the relaxing effect of the most enchanting climate, rendered Venice, but especially Rome and Naples, no less noxious to our young man's habit, both of body and mind, than Capua was to Hannibal's army.

Lord Chesterfield, indeed, was sufficiently sensible of the ^{1750.} dangerous ground his son trod upon, when he entered the Pope's dominions. As if he had been possessed of Gyges's ring, with which he so earnestly wished to accompany him invisibly, his genius hovered over him, and constantly suggested the expedients he thought most proper to preserve him from contagion. Accordingly we observe him in an admirable letter, written at the beginning of this year, giving him the most judicious and earnest cautions against the impressions of irreligion and immorality [13]. He treated these subjects, indeed, rather as a man of the world, than as a divine, trusting for the rest to the private instructions of Mr. Harte.

It

1750. It would be unjust to suspect, that his guide neglected any thing in his power to ground his pupil in the principles of morality and virtue; as he had effectually infused into him a sufficient quantity of classical and other learning. But it was impossible he should succeed in finishing the polish of his education in the manner lord Chesterfield wished; and it is a matter of astonishment, that the earl should not have perceived, how much the tutor's example must have defeated his precepts. The three principal articles he recommended to his son, were his appearance, his elocution, and his style. Mr. Harte, long accustomed to a college life, was too awkward both in his person and address to be able to familiarize the graces with his young pupil. An unhappy impediment in his speech, joined to his total want of ear, rendered him equally unfit to perceive as to correct any defects of pronunciation; a careful attention to which was so strongly recommended in all lord Chesterfield's letters, as absolutely necessary for an orator. Nor was the pen of his young ward likely to be improved by that of a man, whose chief work, though professed to be written in English, was, to borrow lord Chesterfield's expression, *full of Latinisms, Gallicisms, Germanisms, and all isms, but Anglicisms* [14].

It is really difficult to conceive by what infatuation lord Chesterfield must have been led in his choice of a guide, so evidently calculated to counteract the refined plan of education he had proposed for his son. And it is a matter of surprise, that his lordship did not apply what he said of the graces, *senza che ogni fatica e vana*, to example, which might have been done with equal propriety [15]. He recommended, indeed,

to his son the imitation of a most accomplished French noble-1750.
man then ambaffador at Rome [16], and at whose house young Stanhope might have been much improved; but in this, as in other things, the earl was disappointed in his wishes.

The same favorable reception, which lord Chesterfield had procured for his son in the different countries he passed through, he himself gave to all foreigners properly introduced to him, especially when they were persons of genius and merit. This was particularly the case with Mad. Du Bocage, who on a visit to England, in company with her husband, and abbé Guaſco, an intimate and very learned friend of the president Montesquieu, met with all those marks of polite attention from our earl, the practice of which he so much recommended to his son. He was not only her introducer and her guide throughout London; but also procured her, by his letters to Mr. Dayrolles and to Mr. de Kreuningen at the Hague, the same advantages in Holland.

Her letters [17] testify the impresson which this friendly and engaging politeness had made upon her; and lord Chesterfield's answers to her are a remarkable specimen of his atticism in a language not his own, as well as of his refined wit [18]. He modestly refused her his own bust; but sent her in lieu of it those of Milton, Dryden, and Pope, the originals he thought her so well qualified to copy.

Mr. Stanhope, in return, upon his arrival at Paris, met with 1751.
a most hospitable reception from her, as well as from many families of the first rank, not less distinguished by their virtues, than by their amiable manners and wit. Those who had been his father's friends in that city, and continued his correspondents, took upon them the charge of introducing him into the best

1751. companies, and of being the directors of his youth. Mr. Harte had now quitted him, having returned to England to enjoy the reward of his services [19]; and it is to be feared, that, being now left to himself, he took a delight in frequenting those persons with whom he thought himself perhaps more at liberty, than with those accomplished foreigners whom he should have studied to imitate.

Lady Hervey, who was then residing at Paris, and several ladies of the highest rank in France, were the principal guides to whom lord Chesterfield trusted for the finishing of his son's education. They could not but be sensible that the last varnish was wanting, and even that some defects remained in his character inconsistent with good breeding, and perhaps with good manners. A father so desirous that his son should answer in every respect the model of perfection he had sketched out to himself, must have been exceedingly mortified at this circumstance; and the fertility of his genius in expedients to endeavour to inspire his son with the desire of pleasing, is not any where more conspicuous than in this part of his letters [20]. Finding the disorder obstinate, he had recourse to more desperate remedies; as empirics too frequently administer poison in their vain attempts to subdue unconquerable maladies, or to cure diseases, less dangerous than those which their inconsiderate practice entails upon their patients.

Far be it from me to endeavour to conceal or excuse these luxuriations of a warm imagination. Vice can at no time, and under no pretence, become any part of a rational education;

education; nor would it be sufficient to say, that the manners ^{1751.} of great cities, especially Paris, have in some degree authorized polite gallantry. In vain also would it be urged, that lord Chesterfield, knowing perhaps by his own experience with how much difficulty certain passions are resisted in youth, might have thought there was no other choice but that of coarse debauchery and sentimental engagements; that, when mutual liberty is allowed in what is called at Paris the married state, chastity can no more be expected on one side, than fidelity is on the other; and that the crime of corruption cannot be charged where general depravity prevails. We shall not rest the defence of the earl on such weak foundations: drawing a veil therefore on this part of lord Chesterfield's conduct, which was not intended, and ought not to have been exposed to the public eye, we shall content ourselves with deploring the weakness of human nature, which hitherto never admitted of perfection.

Lord Chesterfield's advice in regard to dissimulation might perhaps admit of a more plausible vindication. He certainly distinguishes it always from simulation, or any degree of falsehood at least in words, and seems to make it consist principally in a necessary condescension to the foibles of those with whom our connections or duties oblige us to live. If he goes somewhat further, and advises to conceal our secret feelings, and endeavour to excite as well as watch those of the persons whom we are called upon by the interests of our country to deal with, and who certainly would take the same advantage over us that we wish to have over them; he would be justified, if not by the precepts of moralists, at least by the examples of most, or perhaps of all courtiers and ministers. But it must be candidly owned

1751. that these distinctions are too nice for the practice of mankind. He who constantly walks on the edge of a precipice will scarce avoid falling into it; and it is evident that every thing which goes beyond silence and simple observation, can never be authorized.

Let us therefore hasten to quit this tender ground; and sincerely wishing that lord Chesterfield had lived to publish his own letters, which would have given him an opportunity of expunging some obnoxious passages; let us be allowed to say that these transient errors (for they are all confined to a period of three or four years) took their rise from the strong desire he had of making his son master of those qualities it seemed most difficult for him to acquire, and of training him up to be a complete public man and a consummate politician. Had he been satisfied with fitting him for the middle station of life, he would neither have had the temptation nor the desire of having recourse to these dangerous expedients. Fond parents would spare themselves much anxiety and chagrin, if the mode of education were suited to the different dispositions observable in the child at different times, rather than that the child should be obliged to conform to a settled plan.

The death of the prince of Wales, which happened this year, deprived lord Chesterfield of a friend, who, perhaps, had he lived to ascend the throne, would have conferred upon the son those favors he formerly intended for the father. This unexpected event obliged him to turn his thoughts another way. He appears, from some of his letters, to have been desirous of introducing his son into the family of the young prince of Wales, which was established soon after. I have been informed, that there had

been some thoughts of appointing our earl governor to the 1751 young prince; and I am authorized by some respectable friends to say, that, notwithstanding some representations, he would have been prevailed upon to accept of this employment. I am not equally well informed what was the reason that this event never took place, and that he did not succeed in procuring an establishment for his son in the young prince's household. Perhaps the illegitimacy of his birth may have had some share in this disappointment; as it certainly had in the failure of another solicitation [21].

Lord Chesterfield, who always had the honor, as well as the advantage, of his country in view, had long deplored that Great Britain should be almost the last of all the European powers which still persisted in the use of the defective Julian calendar. Neither the scruples which it occasioned among zealous churchmen concerning the true time of the principal anniversary festivals, nor even its considerable and increasing disagreement from the heavenly bodies (a circumstance, on account of the slowness of its progression, perceptible only to astronomers), were, perhaps, the chief motives that induced lord Chesterfield to wish for a reformation: but he was more particularly disposed to encourage it from the confusion which the different beginnings of the year might produce in settling historical transactions, and the variance there was in the accounts of almost every other state. The inconveniencies were evident; but the difficulty of obviating several inconveniencies attending a sudden alteration, and especially in overcoming people's prejudices, were not less so. These difficulties he found still more considerable than he imagined. Having consulted the duke of Newcastle; that minister, then in the

1751. the zenith of his power, seemed alarmed at so bold an undertaking. He conjured the earl not to *stir matters*, that had long been quiet, and added that he did not love *new-fangled things*. Lord Chesterfield, however, did not suffer himself to be deterred by these obstacles, but resolved to digest his plan thoroughly before he communicated it to the public. With regard to the civil and political points, he consulted persons of the greatest eminence in the several parts of the world where he maintained a correspondence. He was particularly obliged to the great chancellor Dagueffau for the most useful informations, and received from him a most instructive letter on this subject, which we regret much not to be able to give to the public. In the astronomical part, he consulted those of his countrymen who were most in repute for their knowledge in that science; and particularly the earl of Macclesfield, then president of the Royal Society, who readily entered into the plan of reforming the calendar, and furnished lord Chesterfield with all the learning that was wanted on the occasion.

Thus prepared, our earl made his motion in the house of lords, on the 25th of February of that style he wished to amend. The speech he made on that occasion was entirely calculated to captivate the attention and secure the favor of his hearers. Witty reflections upon time, its measure, though fixed in itself, still dependent on the variable motions of the celestial bodies; a concise and clear account of the several attempts made at different periods, and by different nations, to reconcile those two measures with one another; the inconveniencies attending the present style with respect to all public and private transactions; the method of obviating the difficulties arising from a sudden alteration:

alteration: these were the principal topics which he dwelt upon. 175 F. He displayed such powers of oratory in this speech, and delivered it with so much grace, that he eclipsed lord Macclesfield, who seconded his motion, and in a speech, previously prepared and since printed, entered much more fully into the argumentative part of the plan. Our earl did ample justice to his learned colleague; and in his familiar letters [22], expressed himself with great modesty on this point, attributing entirely to his powers of utterance the advantage he obtained over him on this occasion. A bill so wisely contrived, and so ably supported by eloquence and reason, passed without any opposition in both houses; but those who now enjoy the advantages resulting from it, ought to be informed, that they owe them to the industry and resolution of the earl of Chesterfield.

The earl's feelings were excited, in the course of this year, by two events of a very different nature. The first was the appointment of Mr. Dayrolles to the place of minister and commissary plenipotentiary at the court and congress at Brussels; and his marriage with a lady, no less distinguished by the goodness of her heart, than by the graces and beauty of her person, and her various accomplishments. His intimate connection with a friend, whose attachment he had so long experienced, made him share his satisfaction in the liveliest manner; and his letters on this occasion are truly expressive of what his heart felt.

On the other hand, scarce any event could have been more affecting to him than the death of lord Bolingbroke. He had seen him for several months labouring under a cruel, and to appearance incurable disorder. A cancerous humour in his face made a daily progress; and the empirical treatment he submitted to,

1751. to, not only hastened his end, but also exposed him to the most excruciating pain. He saw him, for the last time, the day before his tortures began. Though the unhappy patient, as well as his friend, did then expect that he should recover, and accordingly desired him not to come again till his cure was completed; yet he still took leave of him in a manner which shewed how much he was affected. "He embraced the earl with tenderness, and said, God who placed me here, will do what he pleases with me hereafter, and he knows best what to do. May he bless you!" It would be needless to give our readers any account of the opinion the earl entertained of lord Bolingbroke. This is sufficiently expressed in the letters we now give to the public, as well as in those to his son; but it may not be improper to add, that he retained all his life a grateful remembrance of the friendship that had subsisted between them; and that he transferred it to his heir, and rejoiced in the hopes of seeing him in all respects worthy of the name he bears [23].

Hitherto lord Chesterfield's state of health, though often interrupted by fits of giddiness, had afforded him sufficient intervals, to enable him to enjoy the pleasures of retirement with his books, and those of society with his friends. The last he indulged in with peculiar satisfaction. His house and his table were open not only to the most distinguished of his countrymen, but likewise to all foreigners who had any pretensions to learning or wit. But in the first months of this year, a disorder, unhappily hereditary in his family, began to separate him from society; and that constant serenity and cheerfulness, which he had so remarkably possessed in the different periods of his life, gave way to intervals of melancholy and apprehensions. He felt the first symptoms of

of deafness with a kind of horror; not unlike that which Swift 1752. could not help shewing on the apprehension of losing his senses. This afflicting sensation was for a time increased, while being confined at home for some months on account of a fall from his horse, he submitted patiently to all the means that were employed for the cure of his deafness, first by regular physicians, and afterwards by empirics. The attempts of both proved unsuccessful; and though still equally capable of contributing to the satisfaction of his friends in society, the earl was no longer able to receive any from them.

Mr. Stanhope having now passed a year and a half at Paris, was sent by his father to several courts of Germany, and last to Mr. Dayrolles at Brussels. Lord Chesterfield was in hopes that by spending a winter with him, being introduced to that court and employed in his office, he would have had an opportunity of being thoroughly acquainted with the life of a courtier, and that of a man of business. Unfortunately, the prime minister of that court, a proud Italian [24], being informed of Mr. Stanhope's illegitimacy, insisted upon his not appearing at court. This affected the feeling heart of Mr. Dayrolles still more than that of Lord Chesterfield, who controlled the warmth of his friend on that occasion, and observed to him very justly, that persons in Mr. Stanhope's situation must sometimes expect disagreeable things of that kind, and that the best use he could make of this incident, was to endeavour to counterbalance the disadvantage of his birth by superior merit and knowledge [25]. To fill up the vacancy which this disappointment occasioned, he sent him for the third time to Paris, in order to improve himself still more in the science of the world,

1752. world, so necessary for the public life he was intended to pursue.

1753. His first setting out in that station would have been a brilliant one, could lord Chesterfield's expectations, and those of his kinsmen the Pelhams, with whom he was now on the best terms [26], have been answered. The post of resident at Venice, now vacant by the promotion of Sir James Gray to that of envoy at the court of Naples, had been proposed by them for Mr. Stanhope, and they were in hopes that his Majesty would make no difficulty in appointing him to it. Lord Chesterfield was highly pleased with the prospect of his son's being fixed in such a city, where from the variety of travellers of different nations who resort thither, he might have acquired that desire of pleasing, which was the only thing he then seemed to want. His disappointment was therefore great, when after eight months solicitation, the king at last absolutely refused to appoint the young man, alledging the circumstance of his birth as the reason. His father, though much hurt at the refusal of a favor by no means unprecedented, resolved to bring him into the next parliament, wisely foreseeing that a senatorial cloak, more extensive still than that of charity, would cover his son's involuntary sin.

In the retirement where lord Chesterfield now spent by choice the best part of the year, and where, having fewer opportunities to exercise his sense of hearing, he sometimes forgot he had lost it, his books, his garden, and his pen, contributed to fill up his time. From his correspondents he received most of the new productions in the literary way, and repaid them by the judgments he passed upon them. The care of his vegetables
also

also took up much of his attention. But it was chiefly his pen 1753. which agreeably and usefully employed his vacant hours. Willing to contribute as much as possible to the advantage of his country, though now in a great measure isolated from it, he amused himself with the composition of moral and literary essays. These he sent to the editor of a new periodical paper entitled *The World*. But the first essay he sent had nearly disgusted him of writing any more; for being somewhat long it was neglected, and might perhaps never have been printed, if Lord Lyttelton coming accidentally into the publisher's shop, and being shewn this paper, had not instantly recognised the masterly hand of his former associate and friend, and desired that it might be immediately put to the press. The reception it met with encouraged him to go on, and he continued to furnish occasional papers from that year to 1756, when this publication ceased. One of the volumes was by the ingenious editor dedicated to his lordship.

His son, whom he had now sent for from Paris, was examined by him with the same attention as he had been in his preceding visit. He found him improved in his figure, manners, and address; but still thought him far from being the graceful, sociable, amiable man he wished him to be [27]. With a view to correct his carelessness and inattention, as soon as he had lost all hopes of the residentship, he sent him first to Holland, and then to some courts of Germany. The formal etiquette of these courts he thought would engage him to pay a stricter regard to those little duties of society which he had hitherto too much neglected; and as he was not likely to meet with many of his countrymen at these courts, he hoped the chief obstacles

1753. which had obstructed his improvement would now be removed [28]. He also took great care to direct his son to the particular objects proper for his attention at these different places, and the knowledge of which was necessary to prevent his appearing a stranger in them.

Though lord Chesterfield now took but little share in political transactions, or parliamentary debates, yet was he far from being indifferent to either. To his friends he communicated his thoughts concerning public affairs with the utmost freedom, and the interest of his country was the chief object of his anxious cares. Indeed, when he reflected on his own situation, precluded by his deafness from one of the best means of information, he could not help laughing at his own weakness. "This political excursion," says he in one of his letters, "which is the remains of the man of business, puts me in mind of Harlequin's making several passes against the wall *par un geste de bravoure* [29]."

The circumstances which appeared to him the most open to censure in the present administration, were the want of foresight, and the irresolution of the councils. On these accounts he was much displeased with the repeal of the bill for the naturalization of the Jews, which he reproached the ministry with having weakly given up. A spirit of divination seems to have animated his pen, when, after having quoted a very true maxim of his favorite author the Cardinal de Retz on this occasion, that mobs are always kept in awe by those who do not fear them, he adds, "that they grow unreasonable and insolent when they find that they are feared. Wise and able governors," says he, "will never, if they can help it, give the people just cause

“to complain, but then on the other hand they will firmly
 “withstand groundless clamor[30].”

The source of this clamor he principally disliked; “being
 “that narrow mob-spirit of intoleration in religious, and in-
 “hospitality in civil matters, both which, all governments
 “should oppose.” A very contrary spirit breathes indeed in
 all our earl’s writings; it is the spirit of humanity, compre-
 hensive benevolence, and true liberty, very different from
 lawless licentiousness. With what honest warmth does he not
 reprobate the “contempt which most historians shew for hu-
 “manity in general, as if the whole human species consisted
 “but of about one hundred and fifty people, called and dig-
 “nified (commonly very undeservedly too), by the titles of
 “emperors, kings, popes, generals, and ministers [31]?” What
 patriot would not join with him, when after having spoken of
 the liberty the Turkish janissaries sometimes take of strangling
 their vizir, or their emperor, he adds; “I am glad the capital
 “strangler should in his turn be strangleable; for I know of no
 “brute so fierce, nor no criminal so guilty, as the creature
 “called a sovereign, whether king, sultan, or Sophi, who
 “thinks himself either by divine or human right vested with
 “an absolute power of destroying his fellow creatures; or
 “who, without inquiring into his right, lawlessly exerts that
 “power[32]?” What good man would not applaud him,
 when on account of the divisions in France between the par-
 liament and clergy, he so strongly enforces the subjection of
 the church in every country to the supreme legislative power,
 and warmly recommends to his son the reading of the tracts of
 that great champion, I had almost said martyr, in the cause of
 civil

1753. civil liberty, Fra-paolo, and in particular his treatise de beneficiis [33]?

1754. The obstinacy of lord Chesterfield's deafness, which increased every day, and disqualified him more and more for society, had induced him to yield to the repeated advice of the faculty to try whether any benefit could be obtained from a journey to Spa. He was confirmed in this resolution by a very severe fit of a gouty rheumatism, which at the same time that it exercised his patience for two or three months in the beginning of this year, gave his physicians and himself some hopes, that the waters might at least in some measure relieve his deafness, which they attributed to the same cause. It does not appear, however, that his rheumatic disorder was the only circumstance that induced him to undertake this journey to Spa, for he had mentioned two months before to his son, that he would probably meet him at that place [34]. He accordingly appointed the time of their meeting; and having entire leisure there, employed it in giving him just notions of the English constitution, and of the part which he would soon be called to bear in the service of the state. No man was certainly more capable of delivering those instructions in a more captivating or rational manner, and to those who would have assisted at these lectures, it would have recalled to mind Pericles, training up young Alcibiades.

Lord Chesterfield having accomplished the time fixed for his residence at Spa, which he now thought a painful task, returned with all possible diligence to London and his villa. He presently found that the small benefit he derived from the waters was but temporary, and soon after had severe returns of the complaint for which he had undertaken this expedition.

Mr.

Mr. Bougainville, the same gentleman who has since distinguished himself so much among the French, and who was not only a man of science, but also of taste and wit, had been recommended to lord Chesterfield [35]. He was surprized to find in that nobleman such a variety of knowledge, and such a thorough acquaintance with the French language, manners, and literature. As he was brother to the secretary of the academy of inscriptions and belles lettres at Paris, he suggested to him the idea of electing lord Chesterfield one of their foreign members. The proposal was first intimated to his lordship, and upon his acceptance the appointment was made, and a letter was written to him in the name of that learned body. This drew from him a letter of thanks, which he communicated to me in English, and for the translation of which he did me the honor to borrow my pen [36].

His son had now got a seat in parliament, and the father equally anxious for his success took infinite pains to prepare him for his first appearance as a speaker. The young man seems to have succeeded tolerably well upon the whole, but on account of his shyness was obliged to stop, and, if I am not mistaken, to have recourse to his notes. Lord Chesterfield used every argument in his power to comfort him, and to inspire him with confidence and courage to make some other attempt; but I have not heard that Mr. Stanhope ever spoke again in the house.

He had an opportunity next year of conferring an obligation on the court unasked and unpaid for it. A noble earl, who had expected to be appointed to the post of groom of the stole, as being the first on the list of the lords of the bed-chamber [37], thought proper to resign that place. To shew his displeasure,

late

late in the season, and at a time when the arrangements for the king's annual expedition to Hanover were already taken, he made a motion in the house of peers to present an address to his majesty to desire he would not leave England at a period when a new war was expected. He hinted, indeed, that these frequent voyages were inconvenient to the nation and contrary to the act of settlement. A public debate on this delicate subject would have been attended with improper reflections from the speakers on both sides of the question. Lord Chesterfield took therefore the most prudent step in moving for an adjournment, which passed without difficulty. As this circumstance must have been very agreeable to the king, many persons conjectured that our earl's views were interested, and that he expected to be appointed to some high post in the administration. But every motive of this kind he solemnly disclaimed in a very interesting letter to Mr. Dayrolles [38], which on many accounts I recommend to the perusal of my readers. I am certain, that the sentiments it contains are such as the most virtuous man would adopt.

Indeed his state of health became every day more distressing. He found himself by his increased deafness cut off from the society of mankind, and struggling against multiplied infirmities both of body and mind. He had taken with him to Blackheath all the materials necessary for writing some historical tracts of his own times, which he intended to pen with the strictest regard to truth, and none to persons, himself not excepted. But finding his mind ill disposed for such a work, he did not attempt it, well knowing, that whatever is not done with inclination and spirit, will be very ill done [39].

The

The preparations for a rupture with the court of France on 1755. account of America, seemed at first not very alarming to lord Chesterfield. He thought they would not attempt any diversion in Flanders, or if they did, that their force could be opposed in that quarter; or, at least, that the Dutch could be sufficiently supported to prevent their submitting to a neutrality, or accepting any other terms the French might wish to impose. Still depending upon our former alliances, and our resolution not to be parties upon the continent, he rather wished for a war, if vigorously carried on at sea, as being the best means of destroying the enemy's navy and commerce [40].

But he soon altered his opinion when he was informed of the defection of those who had been thought England's firmest allies, and especially the house of Austria. It must be owned, that the lowness, or rather the fluctuation, of his spirits had some influence upon his opinions concerning the event of the war. His discouragements arose not more from the number of our enemies, than from the sinking spirit of the nation, and the divisions as well as the incapacity of those who presided at the helm.

In these circumstances, however, he had still a fresh opportunity of manifesting his friendly disposition to government. The subsidiary treaties with the courts of Russia and Hesse-Cassel being submitted to the consideration of parliament excited great debates in both houses. Lord Chesterfield who approved of the first as much as he disliked the second, spoke warmly, though without preparation, in defence of his opinion in the house of lords. He shone as usual, and did not seem to have lost any of his former vigor; but this exertion fatigued him so much, that he was obliged to be carried home immediately after, and never again appeared as a speaker in the house [41].

1756 From this day, which may be looked upon as the close of our
^{to}
 1768. earl's political career, his life may be divided into two periods;
 { the first concluding with the death of his son Mr. Stanhope, which
 happened in 1768; the second with his own decease, in 1773.
 In the former of these, the chief object of his care and attention
 was the improvement and promotion of Mr. Stanhope. In the
 latter, the care of his own health, or rather, the temporary alle-
 viation of those infirmities, which he well knew would attend
 him to his grave.

The pursuits of each of these periods are diversified only by
 his correspondence with his friends, his amusements in his gar-
 den, and his application in his library: for though he continued to
 receive company, foreign as well as English, he frequently
 laments the little capacity he had left him by his deafness either
 of entertaining or being entertained by them. His memoirs,
 therefore, henceforward will contain little more than references
 to his letters, and a history of that gradual decay, the first
 advances of which he appears himself to have discovered above
 twenty years before his death.

Retired from the councils, and in a great measure from the
 society of the principal men in power, lord Chesterfield seems
 not to have pretended to any knowledge of the interior plans of
 government, and only hazards his conjectures on public affairs.
 He expresses, in many of his letters, the impossibility there is,
 that any person who is not in the immediate circle of business
 should be able to form a competent judgement in political mat-
 ters; ridicules the absurdity of pretenders to that sort of know-
 ledge; and offers his opinions as mere random thoughts, thrown
 out upon the public topic of the day. It is no wonder then,
 that we find his lordship, in the subsequent years, frequently
 mistaking

mistaking in his views and expectations on the consequences of 1756. that war which was now declared: a war, which from the ^{to} various, and, as it was then thought, almost unnatural combina- 1768. tions it produced, contradicted the whole uniform experience of our earl, as a statesman; and when seen through the gloomy medium of a distempered habit, appeared every way formidable and destructive to Great Britain. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that the miscarriage of our fleet before Mahon, and the loss of so considerable a possession as the island of Minorca, in the very outset of the war, joined to the apprehensions lord Chesterfield conceived of a secret negotiation between France and Spain to deprive us of Gibraltar, were sufficient to give him the alarm. On the other hand, it is equally certain, that the English are seldom successful in the commencement of hostilities. The lion, confiding perhaps too much in his own strength, gives way to indolence and security, till roused into action by repeated attacks of his enemies. Yet whatever dependence might reasonably have been founded on this reflection, there were other causes, which might fairly justify the apprehensions of a speculative politician. The balance of Europe seemed to be entirely destroyed. All the principal powers had thrown their weight into one scale. There remained among the crowned heads but a single ally for Great Britain, and he had been almost from his cradle her enemy. Besides, it was impossible for lord Chesterfield to conceive, that the force of the king of Prussia alone would be sufficient, in conjunction with us, to withstand the united efforts of France, Austria, the Empire, Saxony, Russia, and Sweden [42]. The wonders that monarch was equal to were yet to be seen; and however great might be the idea our earl had entertained of him, it can bring no imputation upon his political sagacity not

1756 to have foreseen the miraculous exertions, of which that hero
^{to}
 1768. shewed himself capable in the events of the war.

With respect to the supposed engagements between France and Spain relative to Gibraltar, though lord Chesterfield seems to have mistaken both the time and the object of them, still it must be considered, that there was great probability in the conjecture. He well knew, from his own experience, how much the pride of Spain is hurt that Great Britain should retain that important and almost impregnable fortress, the principal key of her dominions; and however her general political interests may recommend a good understanding with the English, it is probable she will never heartily unite with them, so long as that place remains in their hands. A few years after she chose to enter the lists, but in a short time found how unequal a contest she had engaged in with an enemy then in the full career of victory.

The national debt was another very alarming consideration to lord Chesterfield; but his fears in this respect were the fears of the whole nation. The multitude had always looked upon it as a prodigy big with ruin. The ablest and most enlightened statesmen had fixed the point it then stood at, as the utmost verge of safety; and all beyond was stigmatized with dark and fatal predictions. The increase of it to that enormous bulk at which it arrived before the end of the war, in the midst of the greatest national prosperity, was, in the conception of all men at that time, as utter an impossibility as the astonishing triumphs of our ally the king of Prussia.

The events of 1757 and 1758 served only to confirm lord Chesterfield in his political despondency. His letters in this period to Mr. Dayrolles are all expressive of his fears and apprehensions for the event. He continued under the influence of

the

the same impressions till the latter end of the year 1759, 1756
 excepting a small interval in the beginning of the summer ^{to} 1768.
 1758 [43].

During the greatest part of this time, Mr. Stanhope, who had returned to England in 1754 to take his seat in parliament, continued at home. In 1757 he repaired in a public character to Hamburgh, the residence at that time of all the principal persons of those parts of the Empire, which either were, or seemed likely to be, the seat of war. His letters to his son at this conjuncture, though of a different turn from those of former periods, shew no less anxiety for his success. A very remarkable hint is conveyed in one of them, for detaching the empress of Russia from her connections with our enemies [44]; but this seems to have been too nice a commission for so young a negotiator. The immediate aim of lord Chesterfield at this time was to procure for Mr. Stanhope, either an appointment to the court of Berlin, or that he might succeed Mr. Burrish in his employment at Munich; and he omitted no opportunity of exhorting him to recommend himself, by diligence, activity, and address, to those who had it in their power to promote him. Mr. Stanhope's health, as well as other reasons, made him wish to return home for some months in the year 1758, and also in the summer 1759; but he was both times disappointed. He could not be spared from Hamburgh. However the earl might wish to see him, he looked upon this necessity of his absence as a sufficient compensation.

But Mr. Stanhope's ill state of health was such as to overcome all other considerations. Leave was asked and obtained for him to come home in Autumn 1759, and he continued in London till the end of the war.

In

1756 In June 1763 we find Mr. Stanhope at the Hague, on his way
^{to}
 1768. to Ratisbon, to which place he was sent in a public character. In
 { this situation lord Chesterfield's experience seems to have furnished
 him with a very useful expedient for abridging the tedious and
 intricate ceremonials so much insisted upon in German courts[45].
 His stay, however, was but short. In autumn he was called
 home by the ministry, to attend the ensuing session of parlia-
 ment[46], for which they thought it necessary to collect their
 whole force. Lord Chesterfield, though not much pleased with
 this summons, recommended, agreeable to his constant maxim, a
 ready and obliging submission to it; and we may reasonably
 conclude, the earl's admonition had its intended effect: for soon
 after, Mr. Stanhope was appointed envoy-extraordinary to the
 court of Dresden, whither he repaired as soon as the session was
 over. From this time to the latter end of the year 1766, Mr.
 Stanhope continued in Germany, having, at the request of the
 ministry, who were still hard pressed, vacated his seat in parlia-
 ment soon after his arrival at Dresden. This residence appears
 to have completed the ruin of his constitution. His health,
 which in all situations was delicate, seems to have been quite
 overcome by the German winters. He was obliged in 1766 to
 have recourse first to the waters of Baden, and then to a tour
 into the south of France[47]. The earl, who watched per-
 petually over him as his guardian angel, and forgot his own
 infirmities to provide against those of his son, expresses great
 anxiety on these occasions, and seems with difficulty to conceal
 some forebodings of the event. Mr. Stanhope, however, in the
 spring of 1767, either found, or fancied he found, himself well
 enough to return to Dresden, which he accordingly did in May
 following:

following: and his persuasion in this respect was so strong, that 1756 notwithstanding he was again attacked by the same complaint, he wrote to the earl that he thought himself able to pass the winter ^{to} 1768. at that court. His lordship seems to have been so much influenced by this declaration, that he was taking measures for securing him a seat in the next parliament, which was to be chosen in 1768. In this view his lordship was disappointed by the minister on whom he had placed his dependence [48]; but this disappointment he had not occasion long to regret. Mr. Stanhope, notwithstanding his sanguine expectations, was obliged to quit Dresden, and repair again to the South of France, from whence he never returned. During his illness there, he seems to have expressed some jealousy at his place being supplied by a new person during his absence. Lord Chesterfield makes him easy on this head, by acquainting him that he had received assurances from the ministry, that person should not interfere with him as soon as he was capable of resuming his employment [49]. The gentleman here alluded to was shortly after appointed envoy to Denmark, where, by a very spirited and judicious exertion upon a melancholy occasion, he merited the honor of a red ribbon, and an appointment to a much superior court [50].

The last letter lord Chesterfield wrote to this beloved son is dated the 17th of October, 1768. It is full of the most tender anxiety for his welfare, and of his alarms upon receiving information that Mr. Stanhope's complaint was of a dropical nature. This was actually the case. Every medical assistance was tried in vain to relieve him. Mr. Stanhope died of a dropfy, at a house in the country near Avignon, on the 16th of November, 1768.

1756 The effect of this stroke on lord Chesterfield was such as might
to be expected. If his lordship's age might be supposed to render
1768. him less susceptible of impressions, his infirmities made him less
capable of resisting them. The state of his health was now
become very critical. From the year 1756 his rheumatic com-
plaints [51] and the giddiness in his head had been increasing;
but they proceeded by flower, and, to himself at least, much more
imperceptible degrees, than his deafness. The comparison he
seems constantly to have made between the loss of hearing and
that of sight, proves sufficiently in what unusual estimation he
held the former. Every man almost knows the value of his
eyes, and may from thence be taught to judge of what only the
few, who are formed for the more delicate enjoyments of con-
versation, are capable of feeling under the calamity our earl
was afflicted with. Perhaps he carried this matter rather too far,
especially as his defect amounted at most only to a difficulty, not
a deprivation of the sense. By his own account, all he required
in order to be able to distinguish what was said, was, that the
person speaking should not be at too great a distance, and that
the voice should be directed in a straight line towards him.
His other complaints were of a more serious nature; but even
these admitted of considerable relief. The use of a milk diet, to
which, after a very severe fit of illness in the beginning of the
year 1759, he confined himself almost entirely for some time,
was of peculiar service to him. In this and the following year
the general state of lord Chesterfield's health seems to have been
better than he had reason to expect, yet we do not find him
speaking of it with that cheerfulness which his good-humour and
lively disposition would lead us to imagine. The mind when
unoccupied

unoccupied by pursuits of pleasure, business, or ambition, naturally inclines to speculation; and this, when influenced by personal infirmities, as naturally contracts a melancholy cast. It is ^{to} 1756 1768.

no wonder then, that our gay and sprightly earl, whom retirement, and the solitary occupations of the library and the garden, assisted by the enemy he so much dreaded, the defect of hearing, had insensibly conducted to this point, should, in speaking of his health, express himself in terms sometimes bordering upon disgust and despondency. For this reason we must not be surpris'd that, in some of his letters at this period, he describes himself as totally unconnected with the world, *detached from life, bearing the burthen of it with patience from instinct rather than reason, and from that principle alone, taking all proper methods to preserve it* [52]. It is true, he endeavours to gloss over these ideas as the result only of a philosophic habit of mind; but it requires little care in the analysing, to discover the genuine source of them. This is evident, whatever seeming moderation there may otherwise be, in the passage where he compares himself to Solomon, and exclaims with that disappointed monarch, "All is vanity and vexation of spirit [53]." There is more good humour in the resemblance he makes out between himself and the cabbages in his garden, which, in more than one of his letters, he jocosely styles his *fellow vegetables*.

There was another and more striking comparison brought home to the earl about this time. His old servant White, who had lived with him forty years, was seized with a dangerous fit of illness. His sentiments on this occasion, as expressed in his letter to the bishop of Waterford [54], are a very natural picture of a feeling mind under the dominion of some of the closest

1756 attachments of sympathy. The near equality of their age, the
^{to}
 1768. time they had passed together, the mutual decay of constitution,
 and the consequent doubt which of them would arrive soonest at
 their last stage, became matter of very interesting contemplation
 to the earl.

In other respects, lord Chesterfield's vivacity was uniform and undiminished. His attention to public and private transactions still the same. The earl of Halifax was in the year 1761 appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and went over to take possession of his government immediately after the coronation. The celebrated speech, with which this nobleman opened the session of the Irish parliament, is well known as a master-piece of oratory. But it had a further recommendation to lord Chesterfield. The three great objects proposed in it were, the encouragement of the Protestant charter-schools; the improvement of the linen manufacture; and the allowing a proper indulgence to Roman Catholics [55]. These were the points lord Chesterfield had most at heart. No man, as we have already seen, knew better than he did the real interest of that country, or had pursued it with more success; the face of the whole kingdom having been changed during his wise and disinterested administration. His zeal for the welfare of Ireland, which commenced at that period, did not cease with his office. He continued to watch over it with a kind of paternal care, and rejoices in every instance, where he sees the same plan of beneficial measures promoted or improved. The establishment for encouraging Protestant charter-schools had been set on foot by the bishops of Waterford and Meath, and lord Chesterfield had subscribed towards it [56]. The promotion of Irish manufactures, particularly

larly those of linen, is strongly recommended in several of his 1756 letters to the bishop and in those to Mr. Prior [57]. In speaking ^{to} 1768. upon this point, he frequently takes occasion to deplore the too prevalent custom of hard drinking in Ireland [58]. The importation of *five thousand tuns of wine, communibus annis*, he considers as a melancholy proof of this fatal custom; and humorously adds, that *a claret-board, if there were one, would be much better attended than the linen-board* [59]. He exhorts the Irish to mind their spinning and weaving, and lay aside their politics. Mild treatment and an easy unsuspecting intercourse with the Roman Catholics had been the rule of lord Chesterfield's government, in a crisis, which might well have justified the most rigorous execution of the laws against them. It was his constant maxim, that gentle usage was the most likely means to keep them quiet, if not to gain them over; and he urged it again in the year 1757, as the best advice he could give at a period, which he esteemed little less dangerous than that of his own administration.

The expulsion of the Jesuits from France, which happened about this time, was an event of too extraordinary a nature not to attract the attention of our earl. Though they had with great ability resisted several powerful attacks, that had been made against them, yet this, he observes, appeared to be the decisive stroke; and he ventures to pronounce, that they will never recover it [60]. The subsequent history of that learned, but pernicious society, hath fully confirmed this prophecy. Their disgrace in France hath been followed by their expulsion from all parts of the world. They have been banished even from Paraguay, which might be emphatically stiled the kingdom of their own creation; and where, according to the opinion of the celebrated

1756 Montesquieu, the good laws and institutions they had made,
^{to}
 1768. be admitted as an apology for their ambition [61]. The earl
 seems to have carried his observation still farther on this sub-
 ject, and to have extended it to the religious, as well as political,
 dominion of the pope; the permanence of which he seems to
 doubt, and gravely admonishes a lady in France, that *he trembles*
for the holy father himself in the next century [62]. The seizure
 of a considerable part of the papal territories; within a few years
 after, had the appearance of anticipating considerably his lord-
 ship's prediction.

From the beginning of the year 1765, the effects of that slow
 and gradual progress towards dissolution, which the earl had so
 many years experienced, became more visible. Though he
 describes himself rather as gliding gently along the steep, than
 hurried down the precipice, yet the complaints he makes of the
 difficulty he finds in writing, and the intervals between his letters
 to the bishop of Waterford, which are the most regularly con-
 tinued of any we find in this period to his friends, are sure
 indications of a very considerable change. It is evident, however,
 that his faculties were not in the least impaired; and what is
 extraordinary, his correspondence with his son is not less punctual,
 nor the intelligence he gives him of public affairs, from time to
 time, less interesting or less entertaining, than formerly.

In this state of mind, but with a state of body very unequal
 to the shock, lord Chesterfield received the news of Mr. Stan-
 hope's death: an only and most tenderly-beloved son, on whose
 education the utmost care and attention a fond parent is capable
 of had been bestowed; of whose success in life the most sanguine
 expectations

expectations had been formed; and for whose sake chiefly his 1758
 father seemed now to support the remaining burthen of a painful ^{to}
 and tedious existence. The affliction of itself was sufficient; but 1768.
 it was enhanced by another, scarce less distressing, piece of intel-
 ligence. It was announced by a lady, who took this first oppor-
 tunity of acquainting the earl, that she had been married to Mr.
 Stanhope several years, and had two children by him, which
 were then with her. Whatever lord Chesterfield's feelings
 might be at receiving this authentic information of a clandestine
 engagement, contracted by his son so long before, concealed with
 so much art and industry, and brought to light at such an instant,
 he did not confound the innocent with the guilty. He took upon
 himself the care of providing for the children, and informed
 Mrs. Stanhope, that she should be exonerated from the expence
 of their future maintenance.

Lord Chesterfield's dearest hopes being thus defeated, he 1769
 endeavoured to fill up the vacancy by an attention truly becom- ^{to}
 ing his character and rank. He had in the year 1767 adopted 1773.
 the son of his kinsman Mr. Stanhope of Mansfield, heir to
 the title, but not to the estates [63]. At this advanced time of
 life we find him with uncommon care, and even anxiety,
 superintending the education of his successor; and it is re-
 markable, with what satisfaction he acquaints the bishop of
 Waterford with the early prospects of his improvement [64].
 The choice he made of a person to accompany the young gentle-
 man in his travels, and to take the care of his education, was
 worthy of himself [65]; and the correspondence, which, notwith-
 standing his infirmities, he regularly kept up with him, is
 an undoubted proof how much he had at heart the future
 lustre of the honors he bore. These letters have not yet
 appeared

1769 appeared under any sanction of authority; but the principle of
^{to} them is so noble, and the end proposed so becoming the dignity
 1773. of a great name, that it is hoped they will not always be withheld
 from the public. It is plain, from a letter of the earl's to Mr.
 Dayrolles, dated Sept. 10, 1772, that this attention continued
 the same to the end of his life.

In the year 1771, the earl's good friend the bishop of Water-
 ford met with a very severe misfortune in his family. His son
 Mr. Chenevix, a gentleman of the most promising expectation,
 had it not been for a consumptive habit (of which his constitu-
 tion gave early symptoms) fell a sacrifice to that fatal distemper,
 notwithstanding all his care by regularity of diet and exercise to
 put a stop to it. He died at Nice, to which place he had been
 sent by his indulgent father, in the fond hope of restoring his
 health. Lord Chesterfield's friendship for the bishop of Water-
 ford was too strong to be merely personal. It extended to his
 whole family. The bishop's brother, lieutenant-colonel Chene-
 vix of the Carabineers, had received marks of the earl's regard
 and confidence during his administration in Ireland, and had
 acquitted himself with an ability and integrity suitable to the
 trust reposed in him [66]. The death of this gallant and
 worthy officer, which happened in the year 1758, was much
 regretted by his lordship. The same cause operating in a greater
 degree, and aided, moreover, by that partiality our earl always
 seems to have entertained for the rising generation, wherever he
 discovered the dawnings of merit to justify it, had from the
 beginning warmly interested him in favor of young Mr. Chene-
 vix. He made frequent inquiries about him, and in particular
 we find him in the year 1761 earnestly congratulating the
 bishop

bishop on the success of his son at the university, and on the 1769 report of his being likely to answer not only the hopes, but the ^{to} wishes of his worthy father [67]. These congratulations are ¹⁷⁷³⁻ repeated in 1767, when Mr. Chenevix first appeared in the pulpit [68]. The earl's letter to the bishop of the 19th Dec. 1771, is a letter of condolence on the melancholy event of his son's death. This is the last letter from the earl to the bishop in this collection; and it is probably the last he ever wrote to him: his correspondence thus closing with the kind office of endeavouring to administer comfort to his friend, labouring under the same affliction he had himself but lately experienced. It is observable, that he prescribes to him the same kind of relief. *The care of your grandson, says the earl, will be a proper avocation from your grief.*

We have already given an account of lord Chesterfield's health to the year 1769. From that time, the only material alteration in it was a stubborn inflammation in his eyes, which frequently deprived him of the only comfort he had left. His fears upon this occasion, lest he should totally lose the blessing of sight, are expressed in the strongest terms. It is observed in the notes subjoined to a few of his last letters to the bishop of Waterford, that the originals are some of them written in a very trembling hand; and that there are others which are evidently in the handwriting of another person. This goes no further than the latter end of 1771. I am informed, from private authority [69], that the few letters the earl sent in the year 1772, were all dictated to an amanuensis, and only signed by him.

Lord Chesterfield had now, as he himself mentions outlived almost all his friends and contemporaries. He had still, however,

1769 however, one brother living, Sir William Stanhope; who had for
^{to}
 1773. some years been in a very precarious state of health, and had
 been obliged to pass his winters in the south of France, in
 order to avoid the rigor of this climate. In the summer 1772,
 Sir William, on his annual return to England, was taken suddenly
 ill, and died near Dijon, not being able to proceed any further
 on his journey [70].

Lord Chesterfield himself had been seized in the beginning of
 the same summer with a *diarrhoea*, which baffled the best endea-
 vours of the medical art. He mentions it in the last letter to
 his friend Mr. Dayrolles, published in this collection, dated Sept.
 24, 1772. This symptom continued more or less troublesome
 ever after, and was in the end the cause of his death. He was
 afflicted with no other illness, and remained to the last free from
 all manner of pain, enjoying his surprizing memory and presence
 of mind to his latest breath; perfectly composed and resigned to
 part with life, and only regretting, that death was so tardy to
 meet him.

Upon the morning of his decease, and about half an hour
 before it happened, Mr. Dayrolles called upon him to make his
 usual visit. When he had entered the room, the *valet de chambre*
 opening the curtains of the bed announced Mr. Dayrolles to his
 lordship. The earl just found strength enough, in a faint voice,
 to say, *Give Dayrolles a chair*. These were the last words he was
 heard to speak. They were characteristic; and were remarked
 by the very able and attentive physician [71] who was then in
 the room. *His good breeding, said that gentleman, only quits him
 with his life.*

Thus

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G.B. Cipriani inv.

F. Bartolozzi sculp.

Published at the Act direct, Nov. 20 1776

Thus died, on the 24th day of March, 1773, Philip-Dormer¹⁰ 1769 Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield; a nobleman unequalled in his time, for variety of talents, brilliancy of wit, politeness, and ¹⁷⁷³ elegance of conversation. At once a man of pleasure and of business; yet never suffering the former to encroach upon the latter. His embassy in Holland marks his skill, dexterity, and address, as an able negotiator. His administration in Ireland, where his name is still revered by all ranks and orders of men, indicates his integrity, vigilance, and sound policy as a statesman. His speeches in parliament fix his reputation as a distinguished orator, in a refined and uncommon species of eloquence. His conduct in public life was upright, conscientious, and steady: in private, friendly and affectionate: in both, pleasant, amiable, and conciliating.

These were his excellencies;—let those who surpass him speak of his defects.

END OF THE MEMOIRS.

N O T E S

O N

T H E M E M O I R S.

LORD CHURCHILL

THE SPEECHES

DELIVERED BY HIM

IN PARLIAMENT

AND OUTSIDE

PARLIAMENT

FROM 1894 TO 1905

EDITED BY

HIS SON

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INDICATES HIS INTEREST

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NOTES of the INTRODUCTION.

[1] SEVERAL of the Roman writers have owned this. Livy, in particular, expresses himself in the following manner: "Vitiata memoria funebribus laudibus reor, falsisque imaginum titulis, dum familiæ ad se quæque famam rerum gestarum honorumque fallente mendacio trahunt. Inde certe et singulorum gesta, et publica monumenta rerum confusa." Liv. VIII. 40.

[2] In his life of Atticus, indeed, he holds a much superior rank, for he was his cotemporary.

[3] In a conversation which I had with his lordship, soon after his election into the French academy of *inscriptions and belles lettres*, I mentioned, as it was not unlikely that I might be called upon to send to his new associates some account of his life, it were to be wished, that he would furnish me with materials for such a task. This he thought fit to decline, though not averse from the proposal. His lordship modestly added, that few or no lives could stand the test of minute examination. Yet I have reason to believe, that he had himself some intention of this kind, and was perhaps at that very time employed in the undertaking. The bishop of Waterford, his chaplain and friend, expresses his surprise that nothing should have been found among the late earl's papers concerning the history of his own times. "His lordship," he says, "repeated to him more than once, that he was writing it, as far as his memory (which was a good one) would furnish him with matter;" and lord S—, whose mother was first cousin to lord Chesterfield, assured the bishop as having it from Sir William Stanhope, that one day, upon his brother's shewing him his manuscripts, he had told him, that by his will he had left him the publication of them; and then added, *publish them as soon as you dare.*

NOTES of SECTION I.

[1] **B**Y a mistake in Collins's Peerage of England, vol. II. p. 270. the time of his birth is placed one year later. Lord Chesterfield often mentioned this to his friends; but he did not think it worth while to have it corrected. This particular I first learned from Dr. Mounsey, physician to Chelsea hospital, a friend to the earl; and as it appears from one of his letters to him (*vide* collection published by Mrs. Eugenia Stanhope, vol. II. p. 603, 4to), exactly of the same age. This date might be confirmed by passages of his letters to his son and to other persons, and it will be found of some importance from an anecdote hereafter related.

[2] Their family has been established in the north of England for many centuries, even before the time of Edward I.; but from the reign of that king's grandson, their principal estates have been in Nottinghamshire and in Derbyshire. See Collins's Peerage, p. 257.

[3] The earls of Stanhope, Harrington, &c.

[4] The duke of Newcastle, the earl of Huntingdon, lord Southwell, &c.

[5] John Polyander of Kerkhoven, lord of Heenvliet. *Vaderlandsche Historie*, Book XLIII. p. 298.

[6] This may account for his being at least a tacit promoter of the revolution, and for his joining with the court on some important questions, and in particular in one of the protests of the year 1689, against the sacramental test, which excluded protestant dissenters as well as catholics from public employments. It is affirmed in the Peerage (*ibid.*), that he received his education with the late king William; but this is surely an anachronism, as he was seventeen years older than that prince.

[7] That part of the king's forests on this side Trent, near Nottingham, where the famous Robinhood lived, called *thorny-wood*,

is

is part of Sherwood forest, and is entailed on the Chesterfield title.

[8] I cannot resist the temptation of transcribing (though I will not venture to translate it) this lord's character, as it was drawn by the masterly hand of count Anthony Hamilton, who, having followed king James in his exile, was one of the principal ornaments of the court of St. Germain, and there composed several French pieces full of wit and humour. His principal work, entitled, *Memoires du comte de Grammont* (vilely translated by Boyer), contains more authentic, though scandalous, anecdotes of those licentious times than any other extant. The count describes this lord Chesterfield, to whom we shall soon see he could not be very partial, in the following terms. "Il avoit le visage fort agréable, la tête assez belle, peu de taille et moins d'air. Il ne manquoit pas d'esprit. " Un long séjour en Italie lui en avoit communiqué la cérémonie " dans le commerce des hommes, et la défiance dans celui des " femmes. Il avoit été fort haï du roi (Charles II.) parce qu'il " avoit été fort aimé de la Castlemaine. Le bruit commun étoit " qu'il avoit eu ses bonnes grâces, avant qu'elle fut mariée; et " comme ni l'un ni l'autre ne s'en défendoit, on le croyoit assez " volontiers." Mem. de Grammont, ch. VIII.

[9] The partiality of lady Chesterfield to George Hamilton, the historian's brother, and to the duke of York; and the adventure which happened on her being removed by her lord to his country-seat, an event occasioned by the instigation of the former lover, and the unguarded behaviour of the latter, are admirably related by the same author. It is with regret that I find myself under the necessity of omitting this humorous account; I shall only transcribe the following passage. " La cour fut remplie de cet événement, mais " peu de gens approuvoient le procédé de my lord Chesterfield. On " regardoit avec étonnement en Angleterre un homme qui avoit " la malhonnêteté d'être jaloux de sa femme; mais dans la ville ce " fut un prodige inconnu jusqu'alors de voir un mari recourir à ces " moyens violens pour prévenir ce que craint et que mérite la " jalousie. On excusoit pourtant le pauvre Chesterfield autant qu'on " l'osoit sans s'attirer la haine publique, en accusant la mauvaise " éducation

“éducation qu'il avoit eue. Toutes les meres promirent bien à
 “Dieu que leurs enfants ne mettroient jamais le pié en Italie
 “pendant leurs vies, pour en rapporter cette vilaine habitude de
 “contraindre leurs femmes.” Ibid. Among the wits who distinguished themselves on this occasion, were St. Evremont, the earls of Rochester and Dorset, Sir Charles Sedley, Sir George Etheredge, and many more.

[10] In the neighbourhood of Twickenham.

[11] This dedication, like most others, is a fulsome panegyric. *Nothing*, says an ingenious author, speaking of our poet, *can exceed the flattery of a genealogist but that of a dedicatory*. (Walpole's Noble Authors.) Mr. Dryden's patron, at the time that he debased himself so much as to accept of this incense, was in his grand climacteric. His grandson, at a much earlier period, would have rejected it with indignation.

[12] The following information I since received from the bishop of Waterford. “The earl of Chesterfield's father was educated at
 “Westminster-school, under the famous Dr. Busby, and was thought
 “to have strong parts. He was a high tory, if not a Jacobite; for
 “he was even suspected to have sent money to the pretender, and
 “was displeased that his son had accepted any employment, particularly one which he did not think considerable enough for a
 “person of his rank and fortune. He was, as I have often heard,
 “of a morose disposition, of violent passions, and often thought
 “that people behaved ill to him, when they did not in the least
 “intend it.”

[13] The marquiss of Halifax died in 1695, a year after the birth of a grandson, who may, perhaps, justly be compared to him in extent of capacity, fertility of genius, and brilliancy of wit. They both distinguished themselves in parliament by their eloquence; at court, by their knowledge of the world; in company, by their art of pleasing. They were both very useful to their sovereigns, though not much attached either to the prerogative or to the person of any king. They both knew, humoured, and despised, the different parties. The Epicurean philosophy was their common study. Lord Halifax drew a masterly character of bishop

Burnet, and a still more elaborate one of king Charles II.; and he wrote maxims not much inferior to those of La Rochefoucault. Lord Chesterfield has left moral essays which Addison and Swift would not have disowned; and sketches or characters worthy of his grandfather's pen. The advice of the one to his daughter, and the letters of the other to his son, may also admit of a comparison.

This was already written, when I had the satisfaction to find that my idea was confirmed by the bishop of Waterford. I quote his letter, as it contains a remarkable stroke of lord Halifax's wit.

"I have heard that his lordship (the earl of Chesterfield) had much of the same kind of wit as his grandfather the marquis of Halifax. An answer of his, which his lordship told me, is, I think, some proof of it. At the beginning of the revolution, several persons of rank who had been very zealous and serviceable in bringing about this happy event, but at the same time had no great abilities, applied for some of the most considerable employments in the government. The marquis being consulted upon this, answered; *I remember to have read in history that Rome was saved by geese; but I do not remember that these geese were made consuls.*"

[14] Of the sons, Sir William Stanhope was next to lord Chesterfield in birth. He was by no means destitute of parts and vivacity; but his turn of mind, somewhat similar to his father's, made him so great a favorite, that while the father allowed his eldest son only an annual stipend of five hundred pounds, he settled upon the second, on his marriage, his Buckinghamshire estate, worth eight thousand pounds a year. Sir William represented the county in several parliaments, and on the revival of the order of the Bath in 1725, he was elected one of the knights. The third son John was, I know not for what reason, entirely omitted in his father's will; but lord Chesterfield allowed him above a thousand pounds a year, procured him a seat in parliament for Nottingham, and employed him as secretary of embassy at the Hague. He inherited, in 1736, an estate of three thousand pounds a year, left by their uncle lord Charles Wotton to the fourth son Charles, and entailed upon the other brothers; and, in case of failure of issue male, upon earl Stanhope.

Stanhope and his heirs. I am informed by lady Chesterfield, that this Charles Stanhope was a man of a most amiable disposition. Of the two daughters, lady Gertrude Hotham is still living, and preserves, in an advanced age, her brother's manly wit, united with every female virtue. She was also brought up by lady Halifax.

[15] "My father was neither desirous nor able to advise me." Chest. Let. to his son, vol. I. p. 240.

He left, however, to lord Chesterfield, by his will, his whole personal estate, together with the two real estates in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, and the reversion of that in Buckinghamshire. Lord Chesterfield, out of friendship to Sir William Stanhope, consented to his selling out to the value of one thousand pounds a year, to pay some debts.

[16] She was daughter to the honourable William Pierpoint. Collins's Peerage, II. 270.

[18] "When I was at your age (about eleven years old) I should have been ashamed if any boy of that age had learned his book better, or played at any play better than I did; and I should not have rested a moment till I had got before him." Letters to his son, vol. I. p. 173.

[18] Richard Cromwell died July 13, 1712, at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire. Biograph. Britan.

[19] He was, from his infancy, accustomed to speak French, having had a female-servant, born in Normandy, to attend him; but her language was not very pure. When lord Chesterfield was last at Paris in 1741, M. Fontenelle having remarked that he had something of a Norman accent, asked him, whether he had not first learned French from a person of that province. His lordship answered, that the observation was very just.

[22] There is something very pleasing in observing the first dawnings of such a man's genius; and these are strongly apparent in the letters which I think myself happy to be able to communicate to the public in their original dress. I owe them to an intimate friend of mine who was related to Mr. Jounneau. They will be added to this account.

[23] It cannot be disowned, that at a more advanced period of life, he shewed no great partiality to his *Alma Mater*, having neither sent his son, nor his successor, to either university. This may be accounted for from his great desire of sacrificing to the Graces; and these goddesses must certainly have been not a little disgusted at some of the academical practices pointed out in the following passage. "When I first went to the university, I drank and smoked, notwithstanding the aversion I had to wine and tobacco, only because I thought it genteel, and that it made me look like a man." Letters to his son, Vol. I. p. 352.

[24] With Dr. Johnson of Trinity Hall, and professor of civil law at Cambridge. He was a man of parts and abilities, and a zealous whig.

[25] Professor Saunderson, who, though deprived of his eyes, taught his pupils to make the best use of theirs.

[26] His private tutor was Mr. Crow, member of the college, and bred up at Eton school. He was a very good Latin and Greek scholar, and, having taken the degree of doctor of divinity, was made chaplain to Dr. Gibson bishop of London, and afterwards to George II. The respectable prelate, to whom I am obliged for this and several other interesting particulars, informs me, that when lord Chesterfield was at the university, he used to study in his apartment, without stirring out of it till 6 o'clock in the evening.

[27] "When I first came into the world—at nineteen, I left the university of Cambridge, where I was an absolute pedant. When I talked my best, I talked Horace; when I aimed at being facetious, I quoted Martial; and when I had a mind to be a fine gentleman, I talked Ovid. I was convinced that none but the ancients had common sense; that the classics contained every thing that was either necessary or useful, or ornamental to men: and I was not without thoughts of wearing the *toga virilis* of the Romans, instead of the vulgar and illiberal dress of the moderns." Letters to his son, Vol. II. p. 174.

[28] Of what consequence lord Chesterfield thought eloquence to be, as the only way of making a figure in Parliament, appears from.

from several of his letters, and in particular the LXIX. Vol. II. and how much this was his object at the university, may be seen from the following quotation. "So long ago as when I was at Cambridge, whenever I read pieces of eloquence (and indeed they were my principal study) whether antient or modern, I used to write down the shining passages, and then translate them as well and as elegantly as ever I could; if Latin or French, into English; if English, into French. This, which I practiced for some years, not only improved and formed my style, but imprinted in my mind and memory the best thoughts of the best authors. The trouble was little, but the experience I have acquired was great." Ibid. p. 341.

[29] Mr. Knight himself, a member and an ornament of the college in which lord Chesterfield received his education, has most obligingly furnished me with the following dates. The honorable Philip Stanhope was admitted at Trinity hall, Cambridge, August 1712, and quitted it December 1714.

[30] In his letter to Mr. Jouneau, dated from the Hague, 10th of August, N. S. the day before the death of queen Ann. He was going to leave that place when he wrote this letter.

[31] "When I went abroad, I first went to the Hague, where gaming was much in fashion, and where I observed that many people of shining rank and character gamed too. I was then young enough and silly enough to believe that gaming was one of their accomplishments; and as I aimed at perfection, I adopted gaming as a necessary step to it. Thus I acquired by error the habit of a vice, which, far from adorning my character, has, I am conscious, been a great blemish in it." Letters to his son, Vol. II. p. 352.

[32] Mr. Gervais, late dean of Tuam, who attended lord Burlington in his travels, and was often present at these interviews, gave this account to the bishop of Waterford.

[33] Letter to Mr. Jouneau, dated Paris, 7th December, 1714.

[34] See lord Chesterfield's Miscellaneous Pieces, N° XXIII. XXIV.

[35] Letters to his son, vol. I. p. 539, &c.

[36] See

[36] See letters to his son, and in particular letter CLXXXI. in vol. I. His lordship describes in it, with great vivacity and wit, his embarrassment and confusion on being first introduced into the company of ladies of distinction in France, and of the noviciate he was engaged in by one of these ladies. It was very natural that he should recommend the means which succeeded with him, to one whom he so ardently wished to bring up to his level.

[37] See the above letter to Mr. Jouneau.

[38] They make part of a very curious collection of original letters, lately presented to the British Museum by my friend and colleague Doctor Charles Morton.

[39] The same account was given me by my late excellent friend, Dr. Birch, and is found in some of the papers he left to the British Museum, of which he was one of the first trustees, and has shewn himself a most generous benefactor.

[40] Particulars of Bolingbroke's retirement from Dr. Birch's papers.

NOTES OF SECTION II.

[1] **T**HE death of Lewis XIV. happened the beginning of September 1715, while an enterprize was on foot in favor of the pretender.

[2] "If milder measures had been pursued, certain it is, that the tories would never have universally embraced jacobitism. The violence of the whigs forced them into the arms of the pretender." So says lord Bolingbroke. See letter to Sir William Wyndham, p. 86, 87.

[3] See the debates in the house of commons, vol. VI. Though these parliamentary journals, as well as the proceedings of the house of peers, are destitute of sufficient authority to authenticate all the particulars of the speeches; yet as those persons who were principally concerned have not disowned them, they may be quoted as being upon the whole not very defective. This speech of lord Chesterfield was delivered on the 5th of August 1715; and as we know from himself, that he spoke a month (or rather six weeks) before he was of age, the date mentioned in the beginning is sufficiently ascertained. The bishop of Waterford's account of this transaction differs in a few particulars of no great importance. I had this, I think, from unquestionable authority.

[4] A person under the age of twenty-one years cannot be elected to sit in parliament; the election is void; and for sitting and voting in the house of commons, the forfeit is £ 500. Jacob's Law Dictionary.

[5] See the humorous account he gives of this noviciate in letter CLXXXI to his son, Vol. I.

[6] John Dalrymple, earl of Stair, a nobleman equally eminent for his activity, spirit, and abilities, in the cabinet and in the field.

[7] See

[7] See the French letter of the earl of Stair to secretary Craggs, printed in the same volume with lord Bolingbroke's letter to sir William Wyndham, London, 1753. A friend assures me, that the circumstances contained in this letter relative to the pretender may be depended upon. I cannot help suspecting that the remarkable words of bishop Atterbury, when, on being put on shore at Calais, and hearing that lord Bolingbroke, who had just obtained his pardon, was arrived there on his way to England, he said, *Then we are exchanged*, conveyed an insinuation that his lordship was rewarded for the informations procured of the conspiracy for which the bishop suffered.

[8] This appears from the following anecdote which I owe to the bishop of Waterford, who had it from his noble patron. "During the time of the debates on the Excise Bill, the queen endeavoured to persuade lord Stair not to be concerned in the opposition. She told him that she wished, for his sake, that he would not meddle with politics, but would confine himself to the affairs of the army, as being a better judge of them : to which he answered; Madam, if I had not meddled with politics, I should not now have the honor of paying my respects to you; hinting, by this, that her majesty owed the crown to his conduct when ambassador at Paris during the time of the rebellion in 1715."

[9] See the earl of Stair's second memorial presented to the regent after the pretender's return to Paris.

[10] In the year 1694, the 6th of William and Mary.

[10*] Letters to his son, vol. II. p. 345.

[11] He even thought a period of seven years too short for Ireland, and expressed himself to the bishop of Waterford in the following manner. "You are all wild about elections in Ireland, and want, it seems, to have all the ill-blood, expence, and riot, which they occasion, renewed every seven years. I wish you would be quiet, for I prophecy that you will get no good by your politics."

[12] "That shameful method of governing, which had been gaining ground insensibly ever since Charles II. has, with

“uncommon skill and unbounded profusion, been brought to a
 “degree of perfection, which, at this time, dishonours and distresses
 “this country, and must, if not checked (and God knows how it
 “can now be checked), ruin it.”

[13] Letters to his son, *ibid.* and 358.

[14] The prince was offended that at the christening of his son the duke of Newcastle stood as Godfather; and he expressed his resentment in such a manner as drew upon him his father's indignation. The prince often told lord Chesterfield, “That little
 “things affected him more than great ones; and he was often put
 “so much out of humour, at his private levee, by a mistake or
 “blunder of a *valet de chambre*, that the gaping croud admitted to
 “his public levee would, from his looks and silence, have con-
 “cluded, that he had just received some dreadful news. Tacitus,
 “added his lordship, would always have been deceived by him.”

[15] A much more distant relation; for he was descended from Sir John Stanhope, father of the first earl of Chesterfield, by a second wife. He was employed under this reign as envoy-extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the court of Spain, and greatly distinguished himself as a negotiator. The late king appointed him his ambassador to the same court, and advanced him to the dignity of a peer, by the title of lord Harrington. He passed successively through the great offices of state, and was almost all his life-time engaged in a different interest from that of lord Chesterfield, being sometimes preferred to him, and sometimes superseded by him.

[16] By the first of these acts, all persons in places of profit and trust, who assisted at any place of worship where the common prayer was not used, forfeited their places; and, by the second, no person in Great Britain and Ireland was allowed, under pain of imprisonment, to keep any school, or be tutor or school-master, that had not subscribed to the declaration to conform to the church of England, obtained a licence from the diocesan, received the sacrament according to the communion of the church, and abstained from resorting, at least for a twelve-month, to any conventicle of the dissenters.

[17] Lord Guernsey's clause was to compel any person who took the abjuration oath, to acknowledge the divine inspiration of the bible,

bible, and the doctrine of the trinity. It was rejected by a great majority.

[18] By this bill the number of English peers was not to be enlarged beyond fix; the vacancies, in case of extinction of titles, were to be supported by the crown; and, instead of the sixteen peers elected for Scotland at every new parliament, twenty-five were to be made hereditary members of the house of lords for that kingdom, and that number kept up in case of failures.

[19] General Stanhope.

[20] Colonel William Stanhope and his brother Charles Stanhope.

[21] The king, who was at supper, was no sooner informed of the earl's death, than, unable to conceal his grief, and with tears in his eyes, he rose from table, and withdrew. The countess of Chesterfield, who was present, favoured me with this account of that king's great sensibility. Lord Chesterfield himself, many years afterwards, found an opportunity of expressing his sentiments of that nobleman's merit in the following words. "The bill now before us (that for restraining the power of the crown, with regard to the dismissal of officers) is in the very same terms with a bill drawn up in the last reign by as able and honest a minister as ever served the crown. He was indeed an honest and disinterested minister; for he had the happiness of his country so much at heart, that he neglected his own, and has left little else to his son but the honour of having a feat among your lordships." Debates of the House of Lords, vol. IV. p. 200.

[22] The lords justices appointed on this occasion were, the archbishop of Canterbury, lord chancellor Parker, lord Townshend lord president, the duke of Kingston lord privy seal, the duke of Argyll lord steward, the duke of Newcastle lord chamberlain, the duke of Grafton lord lieutenant of Ireland, the dukes of Bolton, Devonshire, Marlborough, and Roxburgh, the earl of Sunderland, the earls Berkeley and Stanhope, and Mr. secretary Craggs.

[23] From Spain, almost during this whole reign, and in 1717 from Sweden and Russia. It was rather singular, that these two last powers, actually at war with one another, should have thought of making peace only with a view of uniting to attack England.

[24] In

[24] In 1715 and 1719.

[25] In 1718 and 1722.

[26] In 1720, the South-Sea affair not only shook public credit, but also the opinion that foreign nations might have entertained of British wisdom. France, however, had no reason to triumph. She had her Mississippi.

[27] The death of Lewis XIV. who survived queen Ann but one year, changed the political system of both courts. George I. had not a more faithful and vigilant friend than the regent of France. They were in somewhat similar circumstances. Spain threatening, and indeed trying, equally to deprive the duke of Orleans of his succession to the throne of France, and king George of the possession of that of England. It was this consideration which bound them so fast together, and united them to a certain degree in their wars. But as this connection was personal, it did not extend to the interests of England; and the French ministry heartily wished to make the restoration of Gibraltar to Spain the price of settling firmly the French succession. As soon as that was secured by the majority and marriage of their king, the peaceful correspondence between the two nations was at an end.

[28] Her house was the resort of the best company at Rome; and to that intercourse, as well as to the instructions of so accomplished and virtuous a lady, her sons owed all their improvement and success.

[39] By error of press (vice 29). The word *gynocracy* was in some measure created at the beginning of the next period, and was often made use of by Pope and his friends.

[30] He died in 1716.

[31] See the characters of both as speakers in lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son.

[32] He preserved that dignity in the celebrated speech he made in the house of peers before his commitment to the Tower. Even his great antagonist Bolingbroke, who seems to have treated him with too much severity, owned in private conversation, that his answer to the Dutch ambassador Mr. Buys, at the council in 1712,

was

was a master-piece of composition, and delivered in a masterly manner.

[33] Letters to his son, vol. I.

[34] The duke of Wharton's character has been admirably drawn by Mr. Pope, and his history is sufficiently known. The following fact, which is extracted from a book, the ingenious author of which had the best opportunity of being well informed of it, will furnish us at once a proof both of his talents and profligacy. "His grace, then in opposition to the court, went to Chelsea the day before the last debate on the bishop of Rochester's affairs; where acting contrition, he professed being determined to work out his pardon at court by speaking against the bishop; in order to which he begged some hints. The minister was deceived, and went through the whole cause with him, pointing out where the strength of the argument lay, and where its weakness. The duke was very thankful, returned to town, passed the night in drinking; and, without going to bed, went to the house of lords, where he spoke for the bishop, recapitulating in the most masterly manner, and answering all that had been argued against him." Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. II. p. 127.

[35] That of York had been refused to him in the last reign; and it is said, that he entertained hopes of being bribed by that of Canterbury in this.

[36] I find in one of my late respectable friend Dr. Birch's papers the following anecdote. "Lord Harcourt leaving the old ministry, provoked Atterbury's abusive tongue. He, in return, declared, that, on the queen's death, the bishop came to him and to lord Bolingbroke, and said, nothing remained but immediately to proclaim K. J. He further offered, if they would give him a guard, to put on his lawn sleeves and head the procession."

[37] The following anecdote was often mentioned by lord Chesterfield; and I shall, to the best of my remembrance, give it in his own words. "I went to Mr. Pope one morning at Twickenham, and found a large folio bible with gilt clasps lying before him upon his table; and, as I knew his way of thinking upon
4 "that

“that book, I asked him jocosely, if he was going to write an
 “answer to it? It is a present, said he, or rather a legacy, from my
 “old friend the bishop of Rochester. I went to take my leave of
 “him yesterday in the Tower, where I saw this bible upon his
 “table. After the first compliments, the bishop said to me, My
 “friend Pope, considering your infirmities and my age and exile,
 “it is not likely that we should ever meet again; and therefore I
 “give you this legacy to remember me by it. Take it home with
 “you, and let me advise you to abide by it.—Does your lordship
 “abide by it yourself?—I do.—If you do, my lord, it is but lately.
 “May I beg to know what new light or arguments have prevailed
 “with you now, to entertain an opinion so contrary to that which
 “you entertained of that book all the former part of your life?—
 “The bishop replied, We have not time to talk of these things; but
 “take home the book; I will abide by it; and I recommend to you
 “to do so too, and so God bless you!”

[38] The contrast between these two characters is strongly marked in lord Chesterfield's letters, vol. I. p. 508. from which some of the strokes have been taken.

[39] See Dr. Taylor's Dissertation prefixed to his edition of Demosthenes.

[40] Lord Bathurst.

[41] That I am not singular in this idea of our earl's eloquence will appear from the subjoined account which was given of it by a contemporary writer in the Gentleman's Magazine for March, 1740; it was well received, but seems rather too vague and pompous.
 “Lord Chesterfield, while he sat in the house of commons, which
 “he did for several years during the life of his father, discovered
 “not those extraordinary talents that have since distinguished him
 “as one of the most accomplished orators his age or country has
 “produced. When he begins to speak, he has a peculiar art of
 “engaging the attention of his hearers, which he irresistibly carries
 “along with him to the end. He unites in his delivery all the
 “graces of diction that prevailed at Athens and Rome, and expresses
 “himself with all the freedom which the British constitution allows,
 “and all the dignity of a peer. He is by no means sparing of his

“Attic

“ Attic falt, which he applies fo judiciously, as to please even those
 “ whom it might otherwise offend. He reasons with the calmness
 “ of a philosopher, he perfuades with the art of an orator, he charms
 “ with the fancy of a poet.”

[42] Lord Chesterfield makes use of this very word in the idea he gives to his son of parliamentary eloquence. Lett. to his son, vol. II.

[43] Tully could do no more. Whitfield often did as much.

[44] In the year 1717, he is mentioned in one of Mr. Pope's letters to his friend Gay, as being in correspondence with him.

[45] The earl said, That he never knew a man who had more wit in conversation than Sir John Van Brugh, and who, at the same time, was more good-natured.

[47] Dr. Arbuthnot was not only the earl's physician, but his friend. He was often with him in a morning, and more than once declared himself, in his presence, a patron of Christianity. He used frequently to communicate his compositions to his lordship. He desired him to amend and correct what he thought proper; and was never displeased at his lordship's making use of that privilege.

[48] It was probably at lord Chesterfield's desire that Mr. Gay's Fables were composed for the duke of Cumberland; but he wanted interest to procure a suitable return to the author. His lordship attended at that poet's funeral in November, 1732, in Westminster-abbey, as one of the pall-bearers.

[49] Mr. Pope likewise shewed him several of his pieces in manuscript, that he might read them, and give him his opinion. “ Mr. Pope, it is said in one of the magazines, being one day in “ company at lord Cobham's with a great number of persons of “ distinction, who were scribbling verses on their glasses, was desired “ by lord Chesterfield to oblige them with a distich *ex tempore*. “ Favour me with your diamond, my lord, said the poet; and “ immediately after wrote on his glass.

“ Accept a miracle, instead of wit;

“ See two bad lines by Stanhope's pencil writ.”

But a much finer, though equally short, character was drawn of him and of Mr. Pulteney, by the same hand:

VOL. I.

N n

How

“How can I Pulteney, Chesterfield forget,
 “While Roman spirit charms, and Attic wit?”

With these sentiments and under many obligations, it is rather surprising he should have omitted him in his will. I have been told, there arose some difference between them on account of the late dutchess of Marlborough, whose character, under the name of Atossa, Mr. Pope was, in vain, solicited by his friend to give up.

[50] Thomson, Mallet, Hooke, Glover, &c. One of these (Mr. Hammond) wrote, when only 22 years old, some love-elegies in the true manner of Tibullus; which lord Chesterfield esteemed so much, that, when the young author died ten years afterwards, he took upon him the pleasing task of publishing them. The short preface which he prefixed contains many strokes highly characteristic of his lordship's manner of thinking, as well as of his feelings.

[49] They procured many subscriptions to Mr. Gay for the impression of his Fables; and by the produce of these, as well as by the success of the Beggar's Opera, that poet was enriched as much as a poet commonly can, or perhaps ought to be enriched. Mr. Aaron Hill had frequent encouragements given him, notwithstanding his frequent bickerings with Mr. Pope; and even his great enemy Dennis was relieved in his old age, at the request of a man whom he had the most reviled.

[50] I shall copy the following article of one of the bishop of Waterford's letters to me. “Lord Chesterfield told me, that, one
 “winter, he was very often in company with Swift, and he observed that he was very desirous to be more particularly acquainted
 “with him, but that he would not pay him the first visit; upon
 “which his lordship condescended to make the first advance. When
 “he was made lord steward, the dean applied for a place in favour
 “of a friend. His lordship complied with his application; but,
 “jocularly desired, that he should not mention his name in any of
 “his writings.”

[51] See

[51] See his character drawn by lord Chesterfield in one of his letters to his son, vol. II.: to which may be added the following particulars, imparted by the earl in a private conversation (Dec. 3, 1749,) to one of his friends, who took them down in writing, and communicated to me this memorandum. "In a conversation I had this day with lord Chesterfield, upon the subject of lord Bolingbroke, he told me, that, though nobody spoke and wrote better upon philosophy than his lordship, no man in the world had less share of philosophy than himself; that the least trifle, such as the over-roasting of a leg of mutton, would strangely disturb and ruffle his temper; and that his passions constantly got the better of his judgment. He added, that no man was more partial to his friends, and more ready to oblige them, than he was; and that he would recommend them, and represent them, as so many models of perfection: but, on the other hand, that he was a most bitter enemy to those he hated; and though their merit might be out of all dispute, he would not allow them the least share of it, but would pronounce them so many fools and blockheads."

[52] My late friend Mr. Mallet has often repeated to me that circumstance, which is strongly hinted at in lord Bolingbroke's own works. The late lord Clanbrazil told it the bishop of Waterford; and in a letter to Dr. Birch, from one of his best-informed correspondents, I find it asserted on no less an authority than that of the late earl of Orford.

[53] Mr. Horace, afterwards lord Walpole, treated this report as a fable; and the countess of Chesterfield, who was with the king in his last expedition, assured me, that whatever lord Bolingbroke might have been induced to hope or to say on that subject, the king never had such an intention.

[54] His Dialogues on the Newtonian System of Attraction and Colours, have been translated into English as well as other languages. The manner emulates that of Fontenelle's Plurality of Worlds; the philosophy is infinitely superior. Lord Chesterfield recommended his son to that amiable philosopher at Berlin.

[55] The first edition of that poem was dedicated to her by the author in an English epistle. It was printed in London 1726.

[56] Mr. Voltaire acquired, during his stay in England, a considerable knowledge of the language and of the manners of the nation. It was there that he composed his Letters upon the English Nation, in which he strongly recommended inoculation to his countrymen. He likewise published in English, an Essay on Epic Poetry. His Tragedy of Brutus was dedicated to lord Bolingbroke, and that of Zaire to Sir Everard Fawkener. But above all, he paid his court to Mr. Pope, translated several passages of his works, and earnestly wished he would have done him the same honor. In an English letter to this poet from Mr. Voltaire, which I once had in my possession, he desired him to translate the following four beautiful lines of his Henriade; but I do not find that the English bard ever complied with his request.

“ Leur empire n’a point de campagnes desertes,

“ De leurs nombreux troupeaux leurs plaines sont couvertes ;

“ Les guérrets de leurs bleds, les mers de leurs vaisseaux ;

“ Ils sont craints sur la terre, ils sont rois sur les eaux.”

[57] This he lamented in several of his letters, and if I am well informed, it retarded for many years his marriage with his lady; King George I. who was acquainted with this unfortunate propensity, having, on that account, opposed and prevented the match.

[58] In one of the rooms at Bath, he met a young nobleman just arrived, who had the same failing with himself. He whispered to his friend (pointing at the same time to some people who stood round them), *beware of these scoundrels ; it is by flight alone that you can preserve your purse.* The nobleman believed him, quitted the room, and on his return found the earl engaged at play with those very harpies whom by his advice he had just escaped.

[59] The same hand, whose character of his lordship as an orator I just transcribed from the Gentleman’s Magazine, thus describes the charms of his conversation. “ The most barren subjects
“ grow fruitful under his culture, and the most trivial circumstances

"are enlivened and heightened by his address. When he appears
 "in the public walks, the company encroach upon good manners
 "to listen to him, or (if the expression may be allowed) to steal
 "some of that fine wit, which animates even his common dis-
 "courses.

"With poignant wit his converse still abounds,
 "And charms, like beauty, those it deepest wounds."

NOTES OF SECTION III.

[1] **T**HE following information, which I owe to the bishop of Waterford, renders this conjecture not improbable. “ At the beginning of the reign of George II, a person told lord Scarborough, lord Chesterfield, and lord Londale, that the king intended to closet them with regard to something that was to be proposed to the house of lords: but they all three requested that his majesty would not do it, for it would have no influence upon them; but, on the contrary, make them so much the more upon their guard, being determined to vote according to their own way of thinking, as their honor and conscience directed them.” What this business was we cannot conjecture; but it is remarked by the compiler of the History and Proceedings of the House of Lords, vol. IV. p. 7. that, “ the order against the admission of strangers into the house was so strictly observed this session (the first of the new parliament), that no account of their lordships speeches or debates was published as usual after the recess; and that no one protest therein has appeared.”

[2] In return to the embassy from the States to compliment the new king on his accession.

[3] Perhaps it were to be wished, notwithstanding his great success, that this plan might have taken place. His address and penetration, as well as his conciliating spirit, would have been still more usefully exerted in disposing the two nations that have the greatest weight on the continent, to maintain the peace of Europe, instead of disturbing it.

[4] The sense that was entertained of lord Chesterfield's important services in this embassy, may be evinced by the following extract from a letter of lord Townshend's to the ambassador, dated

Sept. 6, 1729. "I cannot conclude this letter without applying
 " myself particularly to your excellency with all the joy imaginable
 " —your conduct, your activity, your zeal, your ability in per-
 " forming the king's commands, gave his majesty the utmost satis-
 " faction; and I congratulate your excellency, not only on your
 " success, but on this opportunity of shewing his majesty, of how
 " much importance it has been to his service, to have had so dex-
 " trous, vigilant, and zealous a minister as yourself at the Hague, in
 " this critical conjuncture." This, and some other information of
 the same kind, was obtained from some original records, to which
 Dr. Maty had access.

[5] Mr. Vitriarius, a man of great knowledge, candor, and vir-
 tue. His countrymen, the Germans, are supposed to understand the
jus publicum and *gentium* better than the learned of any other na-
 tions. The origin and state of their very complicated constitution
 renders this study of particular importance to them. It was during
 his travels in Germany that lord Carteret acquired his extensive no-
 tions of the customs and laws, as well as of the constitution, of the
 empire; and with the same views lord Chesterfield sent his son to
 the university of Leipzig, to acquire, under professor Mascow, that
 knowledge which he found so useful to himself.

[6] Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his son, vol. I. p. 532.

[7] Unfortunately these were not always the best chosen or en-
 joyed with moderation; but yet he continued faithful to his rule,
 and though he might sometimes go to bed at six in the morning, he
 never failed to rise at eight.

[8] See the letters and negotiations of Winwood, Carleton, and
 Sir William Temple, among the English; and of Jeanin, d'Avaux,
 and d'Estrades, among the French.

[9] The limits of this work will not allow me to give an account
 of the standing council of state in Holland, and of several particular
 courts of justice, trade, and accompts.

[10] The nature and limits of their jurisdiction are admirably
 well defined by one of the great ornaments of the country. "Quia
 " res majores antiquitus nisi gentium singularum consensu non
 " expediebantur, mole negotiorum & periculo cunctationis repertum
 " est,

“ est, legatos mittere cum liberis mandatis, qui supremæ curiæ im-
 “ minerent, et ubi quid gravius obveniret, moraque dignum, suæ.
 “ quisque patriæ ordines confulerent.” Grotii Annal. lib. V.

[11] Lord Chesterfield mentions an instance of this nature in which he was concerned. Account of the government, &c. of the united provinces, published at the end of the letters to his son, vol. II. p. 543.

[12] Lord Chesterfield very shrewdly conjectures that William the first prince of Orange, who modelled the republic which he saved at his pleasure, permitted that absurd unanimity, in order to render a stadtholder or more powerful chief absolutely necessary. Ibid. p. 544. However, as this law is scarce ever strictly observed, it has not much greater inconveniences than the unanimity required in English juries.

[13] This office was instituted in the year 1510, long before the provinces shook off the yoke of Austrian tyranny. The elevation of the young Charles of Austria, well known since under the name of Charles V, to the dignity of count of Holland, might induce the states to establish a kind of tribune, as a check to the ambition of that young prince. This officer has, in effect, frequently balanced the power of a stadtholder.

[14] This province contributes fifty-eight per cent in all public charges, of which, if I am not mistaking, Amsterdam alone, the fifth town of that province, pays above five and twenty per cent, or a full quarter of the whole.

[15] His functions are with equal strength and precision described by Grotius. “ Is, principum temporibus vox erat publicæ liber-
 “ tatis, utque tunc periculis, ita mutata republica, auctoritate præ-
 “ cipuus, in conventu ordinum et delegatorum consensu exquirat
 “ sententias, præit suadendo, componit diffidentes.” Grot. Annal. lib. V.

[16] He lived about the middle of the last century, and was a man of strict integrity, and great poetical as well as political abilities. His works are much esteemed, and judged not inferior to those of Ovid or La-Fontaine.

[17] So

[17] So well known in the times of king William and queen Ann. During this last period, it may be said, that for some years, a triumvirate, consisting of prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and himself, ruled over one half of Europe.

[18] There was a great similarity between this and indeed many other circumstances of lord Chesterfield's embassy, and Sir William Temple's situation and conduct at the same place. He too trusted and loved De Witt, though he himself was in the interest of the prince of Orange. See his Memoirs.

[19] See his letters to his son, vol. II. p. 544.

[20] A complete and magnificent edition of Telemachus, together with the archbishop of Cambray's other works, was, with the assistance, and under the inspection, of his grand nephew the ambassador, printed in Holland.

[21] This letter was long kept secret in England, though dated July 1, 1721. It was written in French to the king of Spain, and contained the following article.

" I no longer hesitate to assure your majesty of my readiness to
" satisfy you with regard to your demand concerning the restitution
" of Gibraltar; promising you to make use of the first favorable
" opportunity of settling this article with consent of my parliament."
Boyer's Political State, vol. XXXVII. p. 263, where the original letter is printed.

[22] It was agreed by the contracting powers, that this last declaration, as well as two other separate articles, should not be published; and accordingly they are not to be found in Rouffet's *Recueil*, nor in any other work of the same kind. I extracted it from an excellent history of the united provinces, published in the low Dutch language. The author was allowed access to the registers of the States, and took the secret article from thence. See *Vaderlandsche Historie*, vol. XVIII. p. 505, 506.

[23] One of his speeches in defence of this treaty was published just before the meeting of parliament in 1730. It was translated into French, and is found in Rouffet's *Recueil*, vol. V.

[24] This is sufficiently evident from several passages in a small tract generally attributed to his lordship, and not unworthy of his

pen. It is entitled, *The Case of the Hanover forces in the pay of Great Britain, &c.* and was published in 1743. I shall have frequent opportunities of referring to this pamphlet, as well as to the two vindications of it by the same hand. "This half year generated a half peace. To be friends with Spain was then (in 1729) our interest upon any terms. We not only treat, but humour, concede, nay, solicit the honor of being convoys to Don Carlos in Italy: that very Don Carlos, who was so lately set forth, as likely to become the so long dreaded universal monarch of Europe——Now to what did all this contribute! Not to the peace, security, wealth, and honor of England." p. 10.

Since I wrote this, I saw a copy of this pamphlet, on the title page of which was written in the hand-writing of lord Chesterfield, "by Mr. Waller and lord C——." Edmund Waller, esq; was member of parliament for Chipping Wycomb. He supported in the house of commons, the same cause which lord Chesterfield defended in that of peers. He was one of the secret committee for inquiring into the conduct of the minister, and spoke in many of the debates with great force of argument, but without the graces that distinguished several other heads of the opposition.

[25] The opinion entertained both of this memoir and of the abilities of the author, appears from the following passage. "Le comte de Chesterfield ambassadeur extraordinaire auprez de leurs Hautes Puissances, et l'un des plus expérimentés dans les affaires du cabinet, concerta avec les deputez un mémoire qu'ils remirent à Mr. Greys, envoyé de S. M. Danoise à la Haye. Il n'y eut plus d'autre application sur ce sujet, ni de part ni d'autre. Le projet de sa compagnie tomba de soi meme, faute de souscrivans." Rouffet Recueil, Tom. V. p. 37. 42.

[26] The following information I received from one of lord Chesterfield's friends. "In the year 1729, Sir Charles Hotham, brother-in-law to his lordship, was sent as minister plenipotentiary to the king of Prussia, to propose a marriage between the prince of Wales and the eldest princess of Prussia, and another between the prince royal of Prussia, and the king of England's second daughter. His Prussian majesty's answer was, that he would consent to the marriage of his prince royal with our princess, if our king did not insist upon a

“ double marriage on the terms proposed; but that if he did, he
 “ would not consent to either of them; for that he thought he had
 “ as much right to expect our princess royal for his eldest son; as
 “ our king had to expect his princess royal for the prince of Wales.
 “ The two kings persisting in their respective resolutions, there was
 “ an end of the negotiation. In the year 1730, during lord Che-
 “ sterfield’s absence from the Hague, Mr. Keith, an officer in the
 “ king of Prussia’s service (an intimate friend to the prince royal,
 “ and who was to have accompanied him to England), made his
 “ escape from Berlin, came to the Hague, and took refuge in the
 “ ambassador’s house. Col. D. M. was sent in pursuit of him, with
 “ directions to seize him dead or alive. The grand pensionary
 “ hearing of this, sent for the Colonel, and advised him to forbear
 “ putting his design into execution, as he certainly would undergo
 “ the severity of the law if he were taken. However, to avoid ac-
 “ cidents, Mr. Keith got out of the ambassador’s house, and em-
 “ barked at Scheveling in an open boat, which conveyed him to
 “ England. He some time afterwards set out for Dublin, and re-
 “ mained there three years.” These particulars are confirmed in
 the eulogium of Mr. Keith, inserted in the memoirs of the academy of
 Berlin, for 1756. p. 533.

[27] See Case of Hanover forces, p. 22, 23.

[28] It appears from the original records mentioned in the note
 4 of this section, that by lord Chesterfield’s assiduity and address, the
 Dutch were spirited up to such a degree, that the king of Prussia
 was glad to submit to an arbitration, the duke of Saxe Gotha on
 his part, the duke of Wolfenbuttle on the part of his majesty.

[29] On account of the transaction before mentioned, in note
 14 of section II.

[30] The following particulars of this court revolution were
 communicated to me by one of lord Chesterfield’s intimate friends.
 “ The first time he appeared at court on his return to London (the
 “ 24th of October 1729), Sir Robert Walpole took him aside and
 “ told him, *I find you are come to be Secretary of State. Not I, said*
 “ *his lordship, I have as yet no pretensions, and wish for a place of*
 “ *more ease. But I claim the Garter, not as a reward for my late ser-*

“ *vices, but in virtue of his majesty's promise while prince of Wales.*
 “ *I am a man of pleasure, and the blue ribband would add two inches*
 “ *to my size. Then I see how it is,* replied Sir Robert, *it is Townshend's*
 “ *intrigue, in which you have no share; but it will be fruitless, you can-*
 “ *not be Secretary of State, nor shall you be beholden for the gratifi-*
 “ *cation of your wishes to any body but myself.*”

[31] Upon lord Chesterfield's being made high steward on the 19th of June, 1730, one of his predecessors, who was suspected to have made some advantage of the places in his department, gave him a list of the persons he had put in, and desired that they might be continued. The answer was; *I have at present no thoughts of turning any one out; but if I alter my mind, it will only be in relation to those who have bought.* The bishop of Waterford adds, that his lordship, at first, gave three or four places in his department at the recommendation of the royal family; but that afterwards he followed the example of the duke of Devonshire, when lord steward under king William III. and declined the same complaisance, looking upon those recommendations as so many encroachments.

[32] During his stay he assisted at the council in which the report was made of Colonel Chartres's trial and condemnation at the Old Bailey for a rape he had not committed. His pardon was voted unanimously.

[33] The spirit and artful memoirs of these two ambassadors are inserted in Rouffet's Recueil, vol. V. p. 5.

[34] Count Zinzendorf, a man of great parts and vivacity, and lord Chesterfield's particular friend.

There is a remarkable passage in one of lord Chesterfield's letters from the Hague, dated July 26, 1729, relative to this minister.

“ Count Zinzendorf, the imperial minister, left this place last
 “ Sunday morning, saying, that he was going to see some of these
 “ provinces, and might possibly go to Spa, but with an air of great
 “ mystery, which has occasioned some speculation here; but for
 “ my own part, as I know the gentleman, I do not believe
 “ the mystery is upon account of the journey, but I believe he
 “ rather

"rather takes the journey for the sake of the mystery." From the records above-mentioned.

[35] See his account of the negotiations for the treaty of the triple alliance in 1667.

[36] None of the general histories, or political collections, mention the private conferences in which the treaty of Vienna was prepared. I only find in lord Walpole's pamphlet, entitled, *The interests of Great Britain steadily pursued*, p. 48. "that it was imparted in great confidence to the ministers and some of the great men of the republic." And in Rouffet's *Recueil*; "that suspicions were entertained of the pensionary's having been privy to the negotiation." It is likewise said there, "that he undertook to procure the consent of the provinces." But lord Chesterfield has cleared up this matter in the paper already referred to at the end of his letters to his son, vol. II. p. 543. This specimen of lord Chesterfield's political abilities gives us still greater cause to regret, that the account of this embassy which he is said to have written may possibly never see the light.

[37] See the paper quoted above.

[38] The following extracts from two letters of lord Chesterfield's to lord Townshend, the one dated 18th, the other 25th of February, 1729, will give an idea of the ambassador's opinion of the prince.

"The prince of Orange arrived here last night. I went to wait upon him, and as far as I am able to judge from half an hour's conversation only, I think has extreme good parts. He is perfectly well-bred, and civil to every body, and with an ease and freedom that is seldom acquired but by a long knowledge of the world. His face is handsome—his shape is not so advantageous as could be wished, though not near so bad as I had heard it represented. The acclamations of the people are loud and universal. He assumes not the least dignity, but has all the affability and insinuation that is necessary for a person who would raise himself in a popular government."

"As

“ As I have had the honor of frequently converſing with the
“ prince, I can affure your lordſhip, as far as I am able to judge,
“ that he has both parts and knowledge, not only much above his
“ age, but equal to any body’s; and without troubling your lordſhip
“ with particulars, I believe I may venture to ſay, that he will equal
“ the greateſt of his anceſtors in great and good qualities; I hope
“ he will in good fortune too.” From the original records before
mentioned.

[39] Mr. Duncan, a principal officer in the prince’s court, employed at London to conclude this marriage, had ſeveral times conferred with lord Cheſterfield upon this ſubject. He continued his lordſhip’s friend and correſpondent even after his defection from the court. Mr. Van Haaren, a nobleman of Frieſland, greatly in favor with the prince, and whoſe poems, though written in Dutch, were ſo much eſteemed by Voltaire as to induce him to write and publiſh ſome verſes in praiſe of the author, was likewiſe our earl’s friend. But the perſon with whom he was particularly connected, and entertained a conſtant correſpondence, was Mr. Van Kreuninghen, a gentleman who unites great ſingularities with conſiderable talents.

[40] It appears from the records before quoted, that the penſionary was not only inclined to oppoſe the prince of Orange in his views to the ſtadtholderat, but alſo in the intended match with the princeſs royal; and that, therefore, lord Cheſterfield had great difficulties to overcome in managing this matter, and in treating with the penſionary on a ſubject of ſo nice and delicate a nature.

[41] The abbé Strickland, uncle to the gentleman here mentioned, was a man of conſiderable family; and his intereſt was ſo great at Rome, that he had the promiſe of being made cardinal, upon his reſigning his claim to the court of Vienna in favor of the Zinzendorf family; and, at the recommendation of earl Stanhope, he was made biſhop of Namur. During the earl’s adminiſtration he came over to England, and endeavoured to perſuade the Roman catholics to take an oath of allegiance to the king, which might have procured them the abolition of the teſt and other oppreſſive acts. But this attempt was unſucceſſful; and perhaps both parties were averſe from terms of accommodation.

[42] The

[42] The doctor received on this occasion the present of a gold snuff-box from the grand duke.

[43] See lord Chesterfield's own account of this illness in his letters to his son, vol. II. p. 510, 511.

[44] He obtained several small favors for his friends from the minister, and recommended his chaplain to him for a canonry of Windsor or prebend of Westminster.

[45] The frauds practised in the tobacco trade were the motives alledged to subject it to the laws of the excise. These laws were represented, and perhaps with reason, as preferable to the methods used at the Custom-house, to prevent losses in the collection of duties and payment of drawbacks. The scheme was likewise recommended as particularly serviceable to American planters and the English fair traders, and only hurtful to smugglers and contraband dealers. On the other hand, the ill consequences of these abuses seemed not considerable enough to justify such an innovation; the remedy proposed was not allowed to be either necessary or certain; new grievances, as well domestic as public, were apprehended from increasing the number of excise officers; and suspicions were entertained that, under the same pretence (for what branch of trade hath not its frauds?), an universal extension of the excise was either then, or might hereafter be, intended. The people, once possessed with the fear of an attempt upon their liberties, compared this scheme to the Trojan horse; and indeed it was likely to have proved as fatal to this ministry, as the obstinate prosecution of a fanatic priest was to the whig ministry in the time of queen Ann.

[46] The queen, finding that the excise bill was strongly opposed by the whole nation, applied, among others, to lord Scarborough for his advice. His answer was, that the king must give it up. *I will answer for my regiment, said his lordship, against the pretender, but not against the opposers of the excise.* Upon which her majesty, with tears in her eyes, said, *we must then drop it.* Letter of the bishop of Waterford. The second reading of the bill, in the house of commons, was accordingly put off by Sir Robert Walpole for two months.

[47] Lord

[47] Lord Clinton was then one of the lords of his majesty's bed-chamber, and lord lieutenant of Devonshire; he was advanced to the dignities of earl Clinton and baron Fortescue, July 5, 1746.

[48] By a mistake in the History of the debates and proceedings of the House of Lords, vol. IV. p. 152. the earl's resignation is said to have been in May.

[49] Craftsman, N° 354. April 14.

[50] The Free Briton, N° 176. April 16.

From the report of the secret committee, printed in 1742, p. 111, 112. it appears, that the author, Mr. Arnall, was paid by the government, and received in three years time, for this and other services, near ten thousand pounds.

NOTES OF SECTION IV.

[1] **O**NE day lord Chesterfield told one of his friends, *Scarborough* acts upon principle, which I will not say of many; but he has put it into his head that opposition is serving the pretender.

[2] An anecdote, in appearance trifling, may confirm how far these contrivances did extend. The late lord R—, with many good qualities, and even learning and parts, had a strong desire of being thought skilful in physic, and was very expert in bleeding. Lord Chesterfield who knew his foible, and on a particular occasion wished to have his vote, came to him one morning, and, after having conversed upon indifferent matters, complained of the head-ach, and desired his lordship to feel his pulse. It was found to beat high, and a hint of losing blood given. I have no objection, and as I hear your lordship has a masterly hand, will you favor me with trying your lancet upon me? *A propos*, said lord Chesterfield, after the operation, *do you go to the house to-day?* Lord R— answered, *I did not intend to go, not being sufficiently informed of the question which is to be debated; but you who have considered it, which side will you be of?* The earl, having gained his confidence, easily directed his judgement; he carried him to the house, and got him to vote as he pleased. He used afterwards to say, that none of his friends had done as much as he, having literally bled for the good of his country.

[3] Besides the periodical political papers, the debates in parliament, Rouffet's *Recueils*, &c. in controverted points I have chiefly had in view the following capital pamphlets. 1. The Case of the Hanover forces, and the Two Vindications of it already mentioned, Sect. III. note 24. 2. The Answer to the Case, intitled, The Interest of

Britain steadily pursued, by Mr. Horace, afterwards lord, Walpole, 1744. 3. Miscellaneous Thoughts on the present Posture both of Foreign and Domestic Affairs, by Lord Hervey, after he had quitted the ministry, 1742. 4. Faction detected by the Evidence of Facts, 1743; with a masterly answer to this pamphlet, intitled, A Defence of the People, 1744. 5. Apology for a late Resignation (of lord Chesterfield), written without the concurrence of the earl, but approved by him after its publication, 1748; and 6. Examination of the Principles, and an Inquiry into the Conduct, of the Two Brothers, in two parts, published under the direction of lord Granville, 1749.

[4] Her father was Frederick Achatz de Schulenburg, privy-councillor to the duke of Brunswick-Lunenburg, lord of Stehler, Bezendorff, Angern, &c. &c. Her mother was Margaret Gertrude de Schulenburg, of the house of Embden, daughter to Gustavus Adolphus de Schulenburg, privy-councillor to the elector of Brandenburg, and eldest sister of Mathew John count de Schulenburg, field-marshal-general of the republic of Venice.

[5] It did not at first promote the wished-for restoration of the prince of Orange to the dignity of his ancestors. It was even reported, that when the marriage was communicated to the States General by Mr. Finch, the British minister at the Hague, Mr. Boetzlaer, one of the nobles of Holland, at the head of the anti-stadtholderian party, received private assurances, that the king would not interfere in the affairs of the prince. The States seemed to be well convinced of this disposition of the monarch; and, in their answer to his majesty's letter, after expressing their personal regard for the young prince, they declared, that they would by no means consent to any alteration in their present form of government.

[6] Dr. Chenevix, his lordship's favorite chaplain, was by him recommended to the prince of Orange to teach him English; and by the interposition of the bishop of London and the earl of Scarborough, was made first chaplain to the princess. This appointment, however, met with considerable opposition from the minister, to whom, as well as to the queen, Dr. Chenevix had been represented as strongly devoted to lord Chesterfield, and employed by him
in

in writing political pamphlets. The first charge he openly avowed to Mr. Finch at the Hague; but the latter he absolutely denied, and the queen was convinced of his innocence. Mr. Duncan, the prince's agent at the British court, was, on this and many other occasions, very useful to Dr. Chenevix, from whom I received this information.

[7] The warm sentiments of esteem and attachment which he entertained for lord Cobham, undoubtedly animated his expressions, as they did those of their common friend Mr. Pope in the following lines:

And you, brave Cobham, to the latest breath,

Shall feel your ruling passion strong in death:

Such in those moments as in all the past,

"Oh! save my country, heav'n!" shall be your last.

Stowe, the country residence of that accomplished nobleman, was at that time the seat of wit, taste, and virtue. Lord Chesterfield, to the end of his life, remembered and mentioned, with a degree of enthusiasm, the happy days which he had passed in that delightful villa; he contributed to its decorations, and was complimented by the noble possessor with a place among the few whom he admitted in his temple of friendship.

[8] His grace said, with still more severity than wit, "I am surprised to hear so much noise made about the removal of two noble lords from their commands in the army. It is true, there have been two lords removed, but only one foldier; and therefore, when lords are pleased to talk of soldiers having been turned out of their commissions in the army, they ought not to talk in the plural number." This sarcasm soon lost all its force; two months only elapsed before lord Stair's regiment was taken from him, and the next year the duke of Argyll himself shared the same fate.

[9] This particular account was communicated to me by the bishop of Waterford, who had it from lord Scarborough himself.

[10] See Case of the Hanover forces, p. 10.

P p 2 [11] This

[11] This was positively asserted by the opposition, and barely denied by the ministerial writers, who not only give no proof of their denial, but rather endeavor to justify what was laid to their charge. See *Case of the Hanover forces*, p. 15, 16. and *Interest of Great Britain steadily pursued*, p. 52, 53. The assertion of their antagonists seems to be supported by the call that was made in both houses upon the ministers for the instructions sent to the British envoy in Poland in 1729 (when Augustus had a dangerous attack of the disorder which carried him off four years later), and by the refusal of the ministers to produce those instructions. See Debates for 1735. Lord Chesterfield made the motion in the house of lords for this communication, and he spoke warmly to support it. It ought, however, to be observed, that the date of these instructions was anterior to the treaty of Vienna. At a period when the interests of several courts were so fluctuating, the instructions sent in 1729 might have been very different from those in 1733.

[12] I shall here set down the opposite accounts given of that transaction by the champions of the two parties. "Our resident in Holland," says the author of the *Case of the Hanover forces*, p. 19, 20. "had orders to be as loud and importunate as possible with the States, to enter with us into instant measures for the preservation of the house of Austria, and setting a bound to the growing power of France. They gave him to understand, that they were very willing to meet his offers half-way; when, lo! it appeared he had no power to treat." *The States*, answers the writer of the *Interest*, &c. p. 52. *were informed that the court of Vienna would take care of Luxemburg only, and leave the security of the barrier in the Netherlands to the care of Great Britain and Holland; and having in August, 1733, received from their engineer a relation of their barrier towns being in a ruinous condition, and destitute of troops, suddenly agreed to negotiate, and, against his majesty's instances, signed, November 11, an act of neutrality with France.* "Here again," replies the former writer in his *further Vindication*, p. 74. "the author is wholly silent as to what passed before this transaction; for this act of neutrality had been long in treaty before it came to be signed, and was actually necessitated by the conduct

“conduct of England, which had refused to send over the 10,000
“men it was by treaty obliged to provide for the security of the
“barrier.” What can be said to all this, but, *Cui creditis, Quirites?*
In the history of the Netherlands, which I mentioned before, the
English are not represented as having been very pressing with the
Dutch, to dissuade them from a neutrality, vol. XIX. p. 161. Lord
Stair, in a French memorial addressed to the king after the battle of
Dettingen, says, “In 1734, I presented to your majesty a plan to
“form an army upon the Moselle, which would have rendered you
“the arbitrator of Europe.”

[13] Very opposite again are the accounts of the two parties:
In the *Interest*, &c. p. 35. it is said; *The tender of their* (England
and Holland) *good offices was made to, and READILY ACCEPTED BY,*
FRANCE; *but the emperor rejected them for several months together—*
The language held to the ministry of France made an impression upon the
cardinal de Fleury, and induced him, for fear of a general war, to
hasten the negotiation with the Imperial court, and settle the articles
of peace. No such thing, if we believe the writer of *Faction de-*
tected, p. 31. “The minister began to make proposals, and to
“offer his mediation to the courts both of Paris and Vienna.—The
“court of Vienna—severely wounded—disdained to treat with him
“any more, and—the answer made to these proposals by the king
“of France concluded in these words: *I will do my utmost endeavours*
“in Germany to weaken my enemies; I have already declared that I
“would not keep possession of any of the places I should take. Let
“England rest satisfied with this promise.—She would have pleased me
“in her mediation, if she had not at the same time armed herself;—
“but I would have her to know, that no power in Europe shall give
*“law; and this you may tell your master.—*The peace was concluded
“with the Imperial court, in which we were in no degree con-
“fulted.” The Dutch history is equally positive that England had
no share in the negotiation. Ibid. p. 206.

[14] Fog's Journal, January 17, 1736. Two other satyrical
papers, by the same hand; the one on the ears, the other on the
eyes, were likewise inserted on the 24th of January and 10th of
April of the same year. These papers were so well received, that
they

they were re-published at the end of the first volume of *Common Sense*, a periodical paper, which we shall soon have occasion to mention.

[15] In one of lord Chesterfield's speeches in 1735, I find the following words, which might appear prophetic, if a dozen years were sufficient to establish the reputation of a prophet. "Before the flames (of war) can be extinguished, I am afraid much blood will be spilt, great princes must suffer, even queens must weep; the conduct of ministers must be inquired into, and some must meet with that punishment they deserve, before that flame can be extinguished which has been raised by their mismanagement." *Debates of the House of Lords*, vol. IV. p. 456.

[16] Five acts of parliament, together with a seditious paper, were inclosed in a bag of brown paper, with several parcels of gun-powder. This was dropped on the landing-place between the court of the king's-bench and that of chancery, during the sittings of the two courts, and by means of a match, several explosions were made, which greatly terrified the audience, and might have been attended with most dreadful consequences. Fanaticism, as well as dissatisfaction, was at the bottom of this foolish, new powder-plot. A non-juring clergyman was discovered to have been the contriver of this ridiculous affair: he was punished; but as more people were suspected of having been concerned in it, a stop was put to any future prosecution.

[17] From the report of the secret committee in 1742, it appeared, that from the year 1732, no less a sum than fifty thousand pounds had been lavished upon gazetteers, couranteers, and other ministerial writers, now forgotten as well as their pamphlets or weekly papers.

[18] *Leonidas*, by Mr. Glover, printed by subscription in 1737.

[19] See the magazines and other periodical repositories of wit.

[20] *The Dissertation upon Parties; the Remarks upon the History of England, &c.* by lord Bolingbroke.

[21] *Fog's Journal*; the *Craftsman*; *Common Sense*; *Old England*. The most eminent members of the opposition were concerned in these occasional papers. Those of which lord Chesterfield

was

was the author, were oftener calculated to reform the manners, and promote taste and virtue.

[22] The author and publisher of Manners, and some of the writers of the Craftsman.

[23] This might be true, were not juries sometimes known to be biased by the prejudices of the times. It has, besides, always been thought the character of a wise administration, to prevent crimes rather than to punish them.

[24] As I would not venture in this place to give any extract of this speech, I hope the readers will not be displeased to see it complete at the end of this collection.

[25] Many instances might be alledged of this disposition; the following, which I believe is not known, I shall give in the words of the bishop of Waterford, in a letter to me. " Lord Chesterfield
" having been so condescending as to come and pay a visit to my wife
" and me at my country living, and speaking one evening at supper
" of lady Sundon (bed-chamber woman to queen Caroline, and first
" cousin to colonel Dives my wife's father), told us a thing that
" surprised us very much, which was, that through the influence
" of her ladyship, her majesty had it once in her thoughts to make
" Dr. Freind secretary of state, though he was looked upon to be
" inclined to jacobitism." This must have happened at the beginning of the reign of George II, for Dr. Freind, who was made first physician to the queen, died July 26, 1728.

[26] A deputation from the quakers having waited upon the prince to solicit his interest in favor of their tithing bill in 1735, he answered, " that as a friend to liberty in general, and toleration in particular, he wished they might meet with all proper
" favor, but for himself he never gave his vote in parliament, and
" it did not become his station to influence his friends, or direct his
" servants. To leave them entirely to their own conscience and understanding was a rule he had hitherto prescribed to himself, and
" purposed through his whole life to observe." The reply from Andrew Pit, the man who spoke in the name of the body, was not less remarkable. He said, " May it please the prince of Wales, I am
" greatly affected with his excellent notions of liberty, and am more
" pleased

“pleased with the answer he has given us, than if he had granted our request.”

[27] He had already distinguished himself as an imitator of Montesquieu in his new Persian letters, and had the principal share with lord Chesterfield in the periodical paper called Common Sense, a paper replete with excellent lessons of morality delivered with judgement and wit.

[28] I am told that at lord Bolingbroke's first interview with the prince, his lordship, who was the first at the place of *rendezvous*, had taken up a book, in which he was reading when H. R. H. came up; upon which he hastily rose from his chair, and stepping forward, his foot slipped, and he was ready to fall down, when the prince supporting him said, My lord, I hope this may be an omen of my succeeding to raise you.

[29] See Case of the Hanover forces, and Vindication, in several places. One of lord Chesterfield's *bon mots* was current at the time. It was said, that being one day in the house of peers before it was fitting, he told some lords that he had found out an expedient for ever to get rid of the pretender, by humbly requesting his majesty to resign Hanover to him, as then the English would never more chuse a king from that place.

[30] The orders enjoining the persons who frequented the prince's court to abstain from appearing at St. James's had been, at the beginning of 1738, more strictly enforced.

[31] The Spanish proverb is well known, “War with all the world, but peace with England.”

[32] By that contract it was stipulated that the English should be permitted to send annually a ship to the Spanish possessions in the South seas, with negroes and other merchandise, during a term of thirty years.

[33] The procrastinations of the Spanish court are acknowledged in Rouffet's Recueil, &c. tom. XIII. p. 2. printed in 1740, and containing the principal pieces relative to this negotiation. It is there positively asserted, that the British minister was duped by those of the opposite court, and his impatience was only equalled by their affected delays.

[34] This speech of lord Chesterfield's is one of those which were chosen by Rouffet to be inserted in his *Recueil*, as containing the principal arguments urged by the English in support of their pretensions; but the translation is by no means worthy of the original.

[35] Upon the division, there were of the members present 71 content and 58 not content, and of the proxies 24 content and 16 not content. The total majority was therefore only 21.

[36] As Sir Robert's and lord Chesterfield's houses were situated opposite to each other in St. James's square, lord Scarborough was often seen going directly from the friend to the minister; and such was the opinion entertained by both of his integrity, that he never met on this account with the least controul or censure from either.

[37] He had two strokes of apoplexy or palsy, which, in the opinion of lord Chesterfield, considerably affected both his body and his mind.

[38] His body was found surrounded with several books, which he had brought into the room, and piled about him, with the pistol in his mouth.

[39] I have sufficient authority to contradict the reports that were spread about the cause of this fatal resolution. The friend who knew him best, considered it merely as the effect of some distemper. Suicide never had an advocate in lord Chesterfield, but he was temperate in his censures, and ready to make allowances for it.

[40] See Letter CCXII. to his son.

[41] There is something very delicate, even in point of language, in the following sentence. "We have not been injured, but we have been flighted, which is worse; because a flight proceeds always from contempt, whereas an injury proceeds often from fear."

[42] "As to the pension," says the author of *Faction detected*, p. 59, 60. "it is a bill allowed in private by all parties to be impossible to take effect—it is for the interest of the public it should never pass into a law, and was never desired by any man of sense

“ that it should ; and yet it is for the interest of the public that it
 “ should be frequently proposed in the house of commons.”

[43] One morning, says the bishop of Waterford, that I was with him, his lordship was expressing how much he was concerned that I was so long without having better preferment, he at once told me in his joking manner ; Well, I have just thought of a way, by which I am sure you'll succeed with Sir Robert ; go and tell him from me that I will accept of the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, I am sure he will then procure you a good living from the crown,

[44] Too anxious for the public weal,
 Suspend, my lord, the noble strife ;
 Oh ! think, while Britain claims thy zeal,
 Thy friends and Britain claim thy life.

Thy generous, free, exalted mind,
 Inspir'd with freedom's sacred flame,
 Glows with such warmth for human kind,
 The heat impairs thy manly frame.

Happy the man whom reason draws
 To settle in the golden mean ;
 Who scorns fantastic fortune's laws,
 And laughs at flatt'ry's gaudy train.

Who eagle-like from virtue's height
 The leff'ning pomp of courts surveys,
 Or like the bee, with happy flight,
 Amidst the sweets of beauty plays.

Thus have I, at the noontide hour,
 In senates seen thee great appear,
 Ere night reclin'd, beneath the bow'r
 Repeat thy vows in Myra's ear.

So the great thunderer above
 (The rebel sons of earth suppress)
 Flew on the silver plumes of love,
 To find repose on Leda's breast.

[45] Case

[45] Case of Hanover forces, p. 21—24.

[46] In a letter to his son (CCLIX), he compares that prince's court to that of Augustus, and adds, that in his capital "he would see, full as well, as Horace did at Rome, how states are defended by arms, adorned by manners, and improved by laws." In return, this darling son was received with great civility by the Prussian monarch; and I am told, that upon the representation of some of his courtiers concerning the disadvantages of his birth, he answered with warmth; Were he lord Chesterfield's dog, I would have him treated in the most distinguished manner.

[47] Sister to the cardinal of that name, and herself the great protectress of men of letters and wit.

[48] The opinion entertained of the English at the first breaking out of the war, is in a most lively manner expressed in the subjoined extract of a letter, dated Bordeaux, March 6, 1740. "Que dites-vous des Anglois? Voyez comme ils couvrent toutes les mers. C'est une grande baleine; *et totum sub pectore possidet æquor.* La reine d'Espagne a appris à toute l'Europe un grand secret, c'est que les Indes qu'on croyoit attachées à l'Espagne par cent mille chaînes ne tiennent qu'à un fil." This came from a Frenchman, but that Frenchman was Montesquieu. See his letter to the marquis Nicolini, printed 1767, p. 29.

[49] See lord Bathurst's speech in the debate December 4, 1741.

[50] This is affirmed in a much stronger manner in the well-known pamphlet ascribed to lord Granville, and entitled, Examination of the Principles, &c. of the Two Brothers, &c. p. 4.

[51] What lord Chesterfield's sentiments were on this occasion appears from the following extract of one of his lordship's letters. "Your friend, but not our friend, is set out to-day for his country—
"feat—torn from the king by the majority of parliament, and at
"the same time loaded with fresh marks of his favor, such as the
"title of earl, a considerable pension, places for his friends and
"dependents.—His retreat does not look as if it would be a very
"quiet one—" Our earl was heated when he wrote this. He afterwards did more justice to the great qualities of his antagonist. It shews however that his opposition was founded on principle. He

certainly was in earnest in the part he took in the debates about the indemnification bill.

[52] "Sixteen unfortunate and inglorious years since his removal have already written his elogium." This was indisputably true in 1758. See Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. II. p. 132.

[53] This was most ingeniously done in the application made of Tully's famous comparison between Cæsar and Anthony with his associate, at the head of the above-mentioned pamphlet. "An vos
"estis ulla re cum eo comparandi? Fuit in illo ingenium, ratio, me-
"moria, literæ, cura, cogitatio, diligentia. Multos annos regnare
"meditatus, magno labore quod cogitarat, effecerat; muneribus,
"monumentis, congiariis, multitudinem imperitam delenierat, suos
"præmiis, adversarios clementiæ specie devinxerat—quid multa;
"attulerat jam liberæ civitati, partim metu, partim patientia, con-
"suetudinem ferviendi. Cum illo ego vos dominandi cupidine com-
"parare possum, cæteris vero rebus nullo modo estis comparandi."
Cicero Philippic.

[54] The following information I received from the bishop of Waterford. "Lord Chesterfield spoke to me of him as of one who
"had not been true to his party. He said, that the last time that
"he was at a large meeting of the most considerable members of
"the opposition, to clear himself of the suspicions he lay under, he
"declared to them in a solemn manner that he was for the broad
"bottom in the largest sense, and that he would never take any
"step without acquainting them of it: upon which it was observed,
"that as they could not always meet together, a particular person
"should be appointed to take his information, and in consequence
"the duke of Argyll was named and agreed to; but Mr. Pulteney
"never went to him afterwards." Very different accounts of this remarkable conference are given by the author of *Faction detected*, &c. p. 45. and the author of the answer, entitled, *A Defence of the people*, &c. p. 83. But the latter seems more consistent, and agrees best with lord Chesterfield's account.

[55*] Earl of Bath.

[55] Thus he wrote to his favorite chaplain immediately on the revolution. "The public has assigned me different employments, and among others that which you mention (the lord lieutenancy of Ireland), but I have been offered none, I have asked for none, and I will accept of none, till I see a little clearer into matters than I do at present. I have opposed measures, not men, and the change of two or three men only is not a sufficient pledge to me that measures will be changed, nay rather an indication that they will not, and I am sure no employment whatsoever shall prevail with me to support measures I have so justly opposed. A good conscience is in my mind a better thing than the best employment, and I will not have the latter, till I can keep it with the former: when that can be, I shall not decline a public life, though in truth more inclined to a private one." What may appear dark in this letter, which was dated March 6, 1742, will soon be cleared up from his lordship's constant opposition to burthenfome continental measures, which he looked upon as the compound effects of self-interest and intoxication. In the pamphlet which I have already quoted so often, as containing our earl's political creed, I find these words: "The parliament met under the greatest concern and astonishment at the Hanover neutrality, at the Spaniards reigning triumphant over the Mediterranean, at the inactivity of our fleet there; with the most sensible concern for the deplorable situation to which the house of Austria was reduced, and with the most sincere disposition to act vigorously and effectually in her behalf. But nobody was sanguine, I should say desperate, enough to imagine that this mighty enterprise could be accomplished by the strength or at the expence of England ALONE!" *Case of the Hanover forces*, p. 43.

[56] It is entitled, *An Ode to a great Number of Great Men lately made*, and contains among others the following stanzas:

See a new progeny descends
From heaven of Britain's truest friends,
O Muse attend my call!
To one of these direct my flight;
Or, to be sure that we are right,
Direct it to them all.

But

But first to C— fain you'd sing,
 Indeed he's nearest to the king,
 Yet careless how you use him :
 Give him, I beg, no labour'd lays,
 He will but promise if you praise,
 And laugh if you abuse him.

Then (but there's a vast space betwixt)
 The new-made e— of B— comes next,
 Stiff in his popular pride :
 His step, his gait, describe the man,
 They paint him better than I can,
 Waddling from side to side.

Each hour a different face he wears,
 Now in a fury, now in tears,
 Now laughing, now in sorrow,
 Now he'll command, and now obey,
 Bellows for liberty to-day,
 And roars for power to-morrow.

At noon the Tories had him tight,
 With staunchest Whigs he supp'd at night,
 Each party thought t' have won him :
 But he himself did so divide,
 Shuffled and cut from side to side,
 That now both parties shun him.

See yon old dull important lord,
 Who at the long'd-for money board
 Sits first, but does not lead :
 His younger brethren all things make,
 So that the treasury's like a snake,
 Whose tail impels the head.

The valiant C—, valorous S—,
 Britain's two thunderbolts of war,
 Still strike my ravish'd eye ;

But

But oh! their strength and spirit's flown,
They, like their conqu'ring swords, are grown
Rusty by lying by.

- - - - -
More changes better times this isle
Demands, oh! Chesterfield, Argyll,
To bleeding Britain bring 'em;
Unite all hearts, appease each storm,
'Tis yours such actions to perform,
My pride shall be to sing 'em.

[57] He meant lord Hervey, who in speaking against this bill, and on many other occasions, had defended the late minister. He continued so to do, after he had lost, under the present administration, his place of lord privy seal.

[58] The motion to exonerate the nation of the charge and burden of the mercenaries, was introduced by lord Chesterfield's kinsman, the earl of Stanhope, son to the great minister of the same name.

[59] See the French letter, which his lordship wrote to the king on resigning his employments, and which was printed in Germany. It deserves to be preserved on many accounts, and will therefore be inserted at the end of the volume.

[60] "The pacific ministers were the men who opposed this pacific measure, in which both the king, himself, and Granville, would have willingly consented if it had not been rejected by them, to whom it was sent over for their approbation. You—will hardly think it possible for the two brothers to have been the authors of continuing the war, which might have been happily and honorably ended at that time—much less that they should be able, at the same time, not only to conceal this fact, but to charge it on their rival with success—This was followed by the strongest opposition to the treaty of Worms." Examination of the principles, &c. of the two brothers, p. 8, 9.

[61] Apology for a late resignation, p. 5.

[62] He inveighed in a particular manner against the pamphlet called the *Case of the Hanover forces*, from whence he said the speakers

speakers on the other side, and in particular Mr. Pitt, derived their principal arguments.

[63] Soon afterwards earl of Egmont.

[64] Lord Morton, in his speech, made a handsome encomium of the late minister. He commended his character as a friend, his abilities as a statesman. He regretted his loss, and exclaimed against those who had deprived his country of such a support. As the ministers complained of the scurrility and abuse with which their conduct and persons were aspersed in weekly libels, he severely arraigned them for having introduced and encouraged that licentiousness of public prints, and condemned them to suffer unpitied that pain which they had inflicted upon their predecessors, and by their example teach their successors, that every act of wickedness at last is practised against its inventor.

[65] The motion for presenting an address to the king on that occasion, was made by the earl of Orford, who spoke for the first time in the house of peers, and animadverted upon the new ministry, for not having been the first introducers of such an address. He expressed in warm and affecting terms his gratitude and zeal for a master whom he had served so long, and so tenderly loved.

[66] Burnet's *Memoirs of his own times*, vol. II. p. 522.

[67] See *Plut.* in *Phocyon*.

[68] "Nec vero me fugit, quam sit acerbum, parentum scelera
"filiis poenis luit. Sed hoc præclare legibus comparatum est,
"ut caritas liberorum amiciores parentes reipublicæ redderet.
"Itaque Lepidus crudelis in liberos, non is qui Lepidum hostem
"judicat." *Epist.* ad Brutum XVI. And in XIX. "Videtur ipse illud
"crudele, quod ad liberos qui nihil meruerunt, poena pervenit
"sed id et antiquum est, et omnium civitatum; siquidem etiam
"Themistoclis liberi eguerunt."

[69] This book was published for the first time in the beginning of 1745; it was reprinted in 1746, and the last edition appeared in 1748. The copy of this edition belonging to Dr. Birch and bequeathed to the British Museum, was a present to him from the author. This performance is mentioned by the said friend as "a
"single work indeed, and composed at a very early age, but decisive
"of

“ of a grand question of law, and sanction of government, the
“ grounds of which had never before been stated with due
“ precision.” See Dr. Birch’s dedication to Charles Yorke, esq;
then attorney general, prefixed to the *Letters, Speeches, &c.*
of lord chancellor Bacon published by him and printed in 1763.

[70] The Biographical Dictionary, and Parliamentary Register,
place Mr. Hammond’s death in 1742.

[71] *Love elegies* written in 1732, published in 1743. The
preface will be found among his lordship’s miscellaneous pieces.
The reason why the noble editor did not put his name to the publi-
cation, may have been his friend’s encomium of him in the fol-
lowing stanzas of the 13th elegy :

Stanhope in wisdom as in wit divine
May rise and plead Britannia’s glorious cause;
With steady rein his eager wit confine,
While manly sense the deep attention draws.

Let Stanhope speak his list’ning country’s wrong
My humble voice shall please one partial maid;
For her alone I pen my tender song,
Securely fitting in his friendly shade.

Stanhope shall come and grace his rural friend,
Delia shall wonder at her noble guest :
With blushing awe the riper fruit commend,
And for her husband’s patron cull the best.

[72] This appears from several of his letters; and in particular
from the following extract of one to his friend baron de Kreuning-
en at the Hague, dated July 7, 1752. “ I will maintain to the face
“ of all the pedants in the universe, that Pope’s epistles and satires
“ have all the good sense and precision of Horace’s, with a thou-
“ sand times more wit.” See letters in this collection, book I.
Let. XCVIII.

[73] Epilogue to the satires written in 1738. Under these
lines stands this note of the learned prelate, whose illustrations
adorn the works of his friend. “ Philip earl of Chesterfield, com-

“ monly given by writers of all parties for an example to the age he
 “ lives in, of superior talents and public virtue ;” to which I shall
 add the following lines from the bishop’s ingenious friend Dr.
 Brown, in his essay prefixed to Mr. Pope’s satires, wherein he says
 that poet

“ Now with a muse more sacred and refin’d

“ Calls forth a Chesterfield’s or Lonsdale’s mind.”

[74] See Mr. Pope’s epistle on the characters of women.

[75] “ Her grace desires Mr. Glover and Mr. Mallet may write
 “ the history of the duke of Marlborough, that it may be known
 “ to the world how truly the late duke wished that justice should
 “ be done to all mankind, who, her grace was sure, left king
 “ James with great regret, at a time when it was plain it was with
 “ hazard to himself, and if he had been like the patriots of the
 “ present times, he might have been all that an ambitious man
 “ could have hoped for, by assisting king James to settle popery in
 “ England. Her grace says she should be extremely obliged to the
 “ earl of Chesterfield, who never had any call to give himself any
 “ trouble about her, if he would comply with her very earnest
 “ request, which is, that he will direct the two persons above-
 “ mentioned, who are to write the said history, which she is ex-
 “ tremely desirous should be done well. Her grace desires that no
 “ part of the said history be in verse, and that it may not begin
 “ in the usual form of histories, but only from the revolution.
 “ And she directs that the said history shall, before it is printed,
 “ have the approbation of the earl of Chesterfield, and all her
 “ executors, &c.” Her grace’s intentions were however completely
 frustrated. Mr. Glover soon desisted from this undertaking, and
 resigned his share to his colleague Mr. Mallet. This last gentleman,
 very equal to the task, and abundantly furnished with family papers,
 foreign intelligence, and all kind of private information, died in
 1765, without having made any great progress in the work ; at least
 very few fragments were found among his papers.

[76] This worthy minister unhappily exchanged the olive for
 the laurel, being killed in 1746 at the battle of Rocoux.

[77] The

[77] The allied army, commanded by marshal Wade, was composed of 22,000 English, 16,000 Hanoverians, 12,000 Austrians, and 35,000 Dutch, in all, 85,000, the finest troops that ever were brought into the field. The French left marshal Saxe with a body only of 38,000 men, their garrisons being totally drained of troops, and wholly unprovided for a siege. *Conduct of the two brothers*, p. 13, 14.

[78] See the *Conduct of the two brothers*, &c. p. 14, 15.

[79] This was strongly expressed in the following French lines, which came from the camp of the enemy :

“ Dans les plaines de Lisle exemptes de carnage,

“ Il est un camp fameux en illustres guerriers;

“ Bellone chaque jour les conduit au fourage,

“ Et leur donne du foin en guise de lauriers.”

The French garrison at Lisle displayed their wit, at the expence of the inactive warriors they could see from their walls. Harlequin was introduced upon the stage, strutting along with great pomp, and in a characteristic dress, with a bundle of letters under each arm. Being asked what he had under the right, he answered *orders*, and what under the left, with equal solemnity, *counter-orders*. This, I am told, was exactly the fact, except that both the orders and counter-orders were in the same letters; the former in the body, and the latter in the postscript.

[80] “ His lordship told me once that many lies had been told of him to the king, and with such circumstances, that he was not surprised that his majesty believed them.” Letter from the bishop of Waterford.

NOTES of SECTION V.

[1] CASE of the Hanover forces, &c. p. 50, 51.

[2] Ibid. p. 45. 48.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Apology for a late resignation, p. 13.

[5] Case of the Hanover forces, p. 53.

[6] Apology, &c. p. 9.

[7] Ibid. p. 12.

[8] “ Abbé de la Ville had abilities, temper, and industry. We
 “ could not visit, our two masters being at war; but the first time I
 “ met him at a third place, I got somebody to present me to him;
 “ and I told him, that though we were to be national enemies, I
 “ flattered myself we might, however, be personal friends. Two
 “ days afterwards, I went early to solicit the deputies of Amsterdam,
 “ where I found abbé de la Ville, who had been before-hand with
 “ me; upon which I addressed myself to the deputies, and said
 “ smilingly, *I am very sorry, gentlemen, to find my enemy with you;*
 “ *my knowledge of his capacity is already sufficient to fear him: we are*
 “ *not upon equal terms, but I trust to your own interest against his*
 “ *talents; if I have not had this day the first word, I shall at least have*
 “ *the last.* They smiled; the abbé was pleased with the compli-
 “ ment, and the manner of it. He stayed about a quarter of an
 “ hour, and then left me to my deputies, with whom I continued
 “ upon the same tone, though in a very serious manner; that I was
 “ only come to state their own true interests to them, plainly and
 “ simply, without any of those arts which it was necessary for my
 “ friend to make use of to deceive them. I carried my point, and
 “ continued my *procédé* with the abbé; and by this easy and polite
 “ commerce with him at third places, I often found means to fish

“out from him whereabouts he was.” Lord Chesterfield’s Letters to his son, letter CCLVIII. See likewise letter CCXCII. where he adds very judiciously, “There is not a more prudent maxim than to live with “one’s enemies as if they may one day become one’s friends, as it “commonly happens, sooner or later, in the vicissitudes of political “affairs.”

[9] “The abbé de la Ville and I were at once friends and enemies “at the Hague; and it was not our fault if we had not a peace four “years ago.” Letter of lord Chesterfield, dated March 12, 1749, see book I. Lett. XXXIV.

[10] That this was the common opinion among the people is sufficiently acknowledged in all the histories of the times; and the famous Rouffet is said to have been the principal promoter of that report. See *Vaderlandsche Historie*, vol. XX. p. 32, 33.

[11] When the duke of Cumberland was appointed to this command, he was only considered as the nominal commander, on account of his inexperience and great youth. Marshal Königsegg was in reality the commander in chief, as he was then called *à latere*.

[12] Examination of the conduct of the two Brothers, &c. p. 29.

[13] The following anecdote I received from the bishop of Waterford. In consequence of the plan that had been concerted, as soon as the siege of Tournay was begun, lord Chesterfield received a letter from marshal Königsegg the Austrian commander, acquainting him, that such a day the confederate army were to *move*, which was the word that had been agreed upon between them to express the intended attack. His excellency, upon receiving this letter, waited on the States General, to acquaint them with the contents. He mentioned the same day at his table the news of the approaching action. Three officers were present, who, upon hearing this, as soon as dinner was over, set out immediately for Flanders, and arrived at Fontenoy the day before the battle was fought; and one of them, the son of Sir John Vanbrugh, was wounded in the action by a ball, which was quite flattened on the side that struck against his thigh-bone, and yet, what is remarkable, without breaking it. This extraordinary particular was communicated by a friend, who

fav

saw and examined the ball after the surgeon had extracted it from the wound, of which this ingenious and promising officer died a few days after the battle.

[14] Copy of a letter from lord Bolingbroke to Sir Everard Fawkner, secretary to his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, dated Battersea, May 14, 1745.

DEAR SIR,

YOU have had letters, I doubt not, on the late unfortunate event from all your friends who are in the world; it is time, therefore, that you should hear on the same occasion from one who is out of it. You know that no one can take a warmer part than I do in all that concerns the interest and honor of this country. Neither a long proscription, nor losses, nor mortifications of every kind, can make me indifferent to them. The sentiment is natural and habitual too in me. The disappointment of his royal highness before Tournay, and the loss of so many brave men, grieve me to the soul. I call it a disappointment, for the duke, the British, and the Hanoverian troops cannot be said properly to have been defeated. The common cause suffers, but our national honor is advanced; and that of the young hero you serve, rises above all the examples we have had since our black prince and Henry the fifth. There is comfort in these considerations for the past, and hope for what is to come. The courage and conduct he shewed in the action, make him an object of admiration to all the world, and the compassionate tears he shed after it, give them a new lustre in my sense. Both one and the other endear him to the people among whom he was born, for whom he fights, and for whom he feels.—God prosper him! I was sorry that your hurry of business and my retired life, hindered me from embracing you at your departure. But wherever you go, my best wishes accompany you, and every affectionate sentiment that can flow from the heart of one who is, dear sir,

Your sincere friend,

and most obedient humble servant,

BOLINGBROKE.

[15] Conduct

[15] Conduct of the two Brothers, p. 42.

[16] The great share which the Irish brigade had in the success of the day was fully ascertained by one of their most respectable countrymen, colonel Dromgold. He published two letters in French, on purpose to expose the fallacious account given by Voltaire, in his poem on the battle of Fontenoy; a poem which lord Chesterfield, notwithstanding his partiality to the author, very wittily ridiculed in one of his French letters. See book I. lett. XIV. of this collection.

[17] Both the speech and the letter will be inserted in this volume.

[18] Lord Chesterfield was one of them, as lord lieutenant of Ireland and privy-counsellor.

[19] This conquest was certainly of great importance, and in the end procured peace; but it was magnified to such a degree, that the noble duke, then at the head of the admiralty, declared, *that if France was master of Portsmouth, he would hang the man who should give up Cape Breton in exchange of it.* Apology for a late Resignation, p. 14.

[20] Ibid. p. 13.

[21] Second Series of Facts and Arguments, &c. p. 39.

[22] Ibid. p. 43. 45.

[23] Ibid. p. 44.

[24] Lord Chesterfield alluded to the raising of these regiments in his humorous petition to the king, re-printed at the end of the collection of letters to his son, "Your petitioner raised sixteen companies, of one hundred men each, at the public expence, in support of your majesty's undoubted right to the imperial crown of these realms."

[25] Letter CCLXXIV.

[26] From the bishop of Waterford's letters, who adds the following circumstance. "A person, when he was in this kingdom, asked him one day, how he could go through so much business; and received this answer, *because I never put off to to-morrow what I can do to-day.*"

[27] From the same.

[28] It

[28] It will be found among his lordship's miscellaneous pieces.

[29] A zealous protestant, thinking to pay his court to the lord lieutenant, came to inform him, that one of his coachmen was a Roman catholic, and privately went to mass. *Does he indeed?* said his lordship; *well, I will take care he shall never carry me there.*

[30] The dean's famous letters under that name are sufficiently known.

[31] An instance of his lordship's calmness and presence of mind on this occasion has been given me by the bishop of Waterford. "I cannot, says he, forbear to mention a pun of his lordship's, which shews his quickness at repartee, and that he had the best informations of the dispositions of the Roman catholics, and was not afraid of them. The vice-treasurer, Mr. Gardner, a man of a good character and a considerable fortune, waited upon him one morning, and in a great fright told him, that he was assured, upon good authority, that the people in the province of Connaught were actually rising. Upon which lord Chesterfield took out his watch, and with great composure answered him, *It is nine o'clock, and certainly time for them to rise; I therefore believe your news to be true.*"

[32] The following information, which gives a singular instance of lord Chesterfield's vigilance in his vice-royalty, has been communicated by the bishop of Waterford. It is given in the words of the gallant and active captain Mercer, from whom the information comes.

In the year 1745, captain Mercer was ordered to convoy the earl of Chesterfield from Holyhead to his government of Ireland, where he landed on the 31st of August. In November following, a large fleet of East India-men arrived in the harbour of Galway, where his excellency and the commissioners thought proper to send down a number of revenue officers, to prevent smuggling. On which occasion most of captain Mercer's crew and officers were sent on that service by land, and his vessel unrigged and laid up. But lord Chesterfield having received letters from Belfast, in the county of Antrim, that the rebels had taken possession of Glasgow; and that there were three or four hundred boats assembled off Air, Irwin, and

and Salt Coats, which were but a small distance from the Irish coast, people were much alarmed, lest an invasion was intended, and hoped for some assistance by sea. Their fears were so great, that they were even burying their linen, plate, &c. under ground; and no men of war being then on the Irish coast, his excellency sent for captain Mercer late at night, and informed him of the melancholy accounts he had received; and that he knew of no means which could so speedily ease the people's minds as his sailing directly to Belfast, to find out the design of that large fleet of boats, and to give the natives every consolation and assistance in his power. Captain Mercer told his excellency, that his ship was unrigged, his officers and crew at Galway, and that he had no method of sailing but by shipping a new crew, which must be done by approbation of the board of revenue. Lord Chesterfield, though it was then very late at night, had Mr. Gray, one of the commissioners, raised out of bed to give the necessary orders, and afterwards hoped captain Mercer would be equipped in a few days. Immediately captain Mercer, with the few men he had left and some assistants, began to rig his ship and get provisions on board, and the next morning was so lucky as to have shipped a complete crew, when he waited upon his excellency, to inform him he was ready to sail, and only waited his commands; which were, to gain every intelligence of the rebels motions, and to deliver dispatches from the lords of the admiralty to two sloops of war, commanded by the captains Duff and Knowell, which were cruising between the Clyde and the ile of Man, to prevent spirits or any other liquors going from thence to the rebels. He was fortunate enough to fall in with them the next day, and then stood over to the coast of Scotland, where he discovered that the fleet of boats, which had so much alarmed the people on the Northern coast of Ireland, were only fishing for herrings. This intelligence, in a great measure, dissipated their fears, and captain Mercer continued on that station till the spring of the year, giving lord Chesterfield every intelligence he could receive by keeping up a correspondence with general Campbell, father to the present duke of Argyll, who arrived soon after with a frigate of war and two transports laden with arms and money, to raise and

pay the Argyllshire militia. In the month of April, the rebels quitted the west of Scotland, and captain Mercer was ordered to convoy his excellency the earl of Chesterfield to Chester, where, soon after their landing, they received intelligence of the duke of Cumberland having totally defeated the rebels at Culloden.

Captain Mercer commanded at that time a small frigate of ten guns and fifty men, in the service of the revenue.

[33] Rolt's History of the last War.

[34] Chiefly from the bishop of Waterford's information.

[35] By that act, all popish estates, at the death of the late popish possessor, are divided in equal parts, share and share alike, among his popish relations who are the nearest of kin, if they all continue in their religion; but if one of them turn protestant, he becomes the heir at law. As lord Chesterfield approved of that act, I cannot help thinking that even he himself was not absolutely free from all prejudices on that subject.

[36] Lord Chesterfield's letters to the bishop of Waterford, book III. letter XXXI.

[37] Ibid. book III. letter XXI.

[38] From private information of the bishop of Waterford.

[39] The following fact, which may be depended upon, is a proof of this assertion. A very considerable gentleman of the county of Kerry, and member of parliament, was indebted to a neighbouring tradesman, who had frequently applied to him for the payment of his just demand. The tradesman going one day to the gentleman's house to renew his application, the latter ordered his servants to tie him to the pump and horsewhip him. These orders were obeyed with the utmost severity. The poor man came up to Dublin with his complaints to the lord lieutenant, who immediately directed a special commission of oyer and terminer to repair to that county and try the cause; the consequence of which was, that the gentleman was fined in a very heavy penalty.

[40] This young nobleman died of the small-pox at Paris, to the inexpressible regret of his mother, who, to the day of her death, never forgave herself not having had him inoculated.

[41] To her was address'd a copy of verses by Mr. Jones, a bricklayer, who had complimented lord Chesterfield on his arrival at Dublin, and now took occasion of her ladyship's obtaining a pardon for two deserters, to pay his respects to her.

[42] Stanhope each purpose of his breast

To gen'rous views consign'd;

And chose his method to be blest,

By blessing all mankind.

Stanhope, though high thy transports glow,

To one false step descend;

Or you'll incur the dang'rous woe

Of him, whom all commend.

[43] Lord Chesterfield, in a letter he wrote to the duke in the beginning of 1746, expressed himself in this remarkable manner:

"As Scotland has been the *cradle*, I most earnestly wish and hope
"it will become the *grave* of the rebellion, under the auspicious
"command of your royal highness."

[44] Lord Chesterfield did not join with the ministers in this measure; for though he was very much attached to his friends in administration, he knew his duty to his sovereign, in the station he then filled, too well to have taken so unjustifiable a step. After his lordship was become secretary of state, and was in some measure restored to his former intercourse with his old master; the king, talking of what had passed, and in particular complaining of the ill treatment of his ministers at that time, took occasion to ask his lordship in a kind manner, whether he would have continued in his service if lord Granville had not given up the seals. To this lord Chesterfield very candidly replied, "Sir, nothing should have
"tempted me to have quitted your majesty's service while I was in
"Ireland, and a rebellion raging in your dominions. I think you
"might have very justly tried me by martial law for quitting my
"post. It is certainly true, sir, that it was my resolution, as soon
"as I returned to your majesty's presence, to beg your permission
"to quit your service." This frank declaration was so far from

displeasing the monarch, that he graciously said, "My lord, I was always sure you would act like a man of honor."

[45] The rev. Mr. Codere, minister of the French chapel in Berwick-street.

[46] Letters to his son, letter LXXVI.

[47] French letters in this collection, book I. letter XIV.

[48] The character which lord Chesterfield gave to a female correspondent of that gentleman's qualifications (Ibid. let. XIV.) shews sufficiently the impropriety of the choice. We shall have opportunities of adding some touches to the picture.

[49] Letters to his son.

[50] An instance of this happened soon after our earl was appointed secretary of state. One of the greatest places had been allotted by the reigning minister to a person whom the king particularly disliked. He refused to consent to the nomination, and he did it in so peremptory a manner, that none of the members of the cabinet dared to speak to him any more about it. Lord Chesterfield was desired to undertake it; and one morning he waited upon the king with the commission ready to be filled up. As soon as he mentioned the name, the monarch angrily refused, and said, *I would rather have the devil.* With all my heart, replied the earl, I only beg leave to put your majesty in mind, that the commission is indited *to our right-trusty and right well-beloved cousin.* This fully had its effect; the king laughed, and said, *My lord, do as you please.*

[51] Apology, &c. p. 22.

[52] Lord Harrington had lost all credit with the king from the time he had joined in the resignation with the rest of the ministers; and his majesty finding the opportunity favorable to his wishes, was determined to get rid of him. He carried his resentment so far, that it was with the utmost difficulty Mr. Pelham and the rest of the administration could prevail on his majesty to suffer him to succeed lord Chesterfield as lord lieutenant of Ireland.

[53] Apology, &c.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Letters to his son, letter LXXXIV.

[56] The

[56] The profit he made is humourously stated in one of his letters to the bishop of Waterford. "I can assure you, I got five hundred pounds clear upon the whole."

[57] Conduct of the Two Brothers, &c. p. 48. In the sequel to that pamphlet, which like the former came from a Granvillian and a well-informed author, the same thing is repeated with the following insinuation. "In plain English, one cannot help supposing that it was partly in compliment to H. R. H. the duke that the resolution was taken to prolong the war, and that as he had not the honor of commanding the allies this year, we connived at the losses of it, and kept our strength in reserve, to render him so much the more illustrious, by the efforts of the next."—*Second Series*, p. 46.

[58] The letter is dated Breda, Nov. 20, 1746, and signed Wassenauer. "Dans le moment le comte de Sandwich sort de chez moi, ou il a eu la bonté de venir m'apprendre une nouvelle, qui en tout tems, mais surtout dans la circonstance présente ne peut que me causer une joye inexprimable. J'ai vu, milord, avec la plus agréable surprise au bas de ses dépêches le nom de l'homme que je respecte, que j'admire, et permettez moi de trancher le mot, que j'aime le plus, le nom de Chesterfield—M. le conseiller pensionnaire (Gilles) à qui j'ai eu le plaisir d'en apprendre la première nouvelle, m'en a témoigné son extrême contentement, et sent comme moi toute l'influence que votre heureuse entrée dans le ministère doit avoir, sur les affaires du tems—Jamais la situation de la republique ne fût plus déplorable. Son état politique et militaire, celui de ses finances, vous est parfaitement connu. Nous sommes peut être à la veille d'être bouleversés, si l'Angleterre notre meilleure et notre plus fidèle alliée, et la plus intéressée à notre existence, ne prévient notre ruine: le tems est infiniment précieux; daignez, mylord, employer tous vos soins et vos efforts pour nous faire parvenir au grand but qui nous rassemble ici: le plaisir inexprimable d'avoir rendu le repos à l'Europe fera votre récompense, et votre nom fera en bénédiction à tous les peuples. Nous aurons en particulier la satisfaction de devoir notre bonheur à l'ami de la republique."

[59] Apo-

[59] Apology, &c. p. 27.

[60] Ibid, p. 26.

[61] Lord Chesterfield had ever shewn great friendship for that gentleman, who was very much attached to his lordship.—He took him over to Ireland, and gave him the office of black rod, during the time of his residence there.

[62] Conduct of the two brothers, p. 60, 61.

[63] Vaderlandsche historie, vol. XX. p. 105.

[65] Conduct, &c.

[66] Apology, &c. p. 29.

[67] The king of France's expression is said to have been, "M^e! Bien Monsieur de Ligonier, quand est ce que le roy votre maitre nous donnera la paix!—Well, general Ligonier, when will the king your master grant us peace!"

[68] He was the only minister in the cabinet who had, upon principle, contended for the necessity of coming to a speedy accommodation, *Second series*, &c. p. 48. Nothing could be more honorable to lord Chesterfield than this testimony from a rival, whom he had contributed to remove.

[69] Though this expression was borrowed from the object of lord Chesterfield's strongest passion, it must be observed to his honor, that he strictly kept to the rule which he had dictated to himself in Ireland, and never played till he was out of the ministry.

[70] Vaderlandsche historie, vol. XX. p. 159, 160.

[71] Letter to Mr. Dayrolles.

[72] Vaderl. hift. ibid.

[73] See lord Chesterfield's French letters in this collection.

[74] Examination, &c. p. 70.

[75] Apology, &c. p. 35, 36.

[76] This gentleman had held conferences before that time with lord Ligonier while in Flanders, and his lordship was directed by the English ministry to desire him to repair to London in the most secret manner.

[77] Apology, &c. p. 37—44. See likewise the other pamphlets which I have quoted before, and which were published by writers perfectly well informed.

[78] In

[78] In a manuscript letter to Dr. Birch, dated Therfield, Nov. 28, 1748, I find some interesting particulars, which the author had from Mr. Horace Walpole, with whom he was very intimate. "I met my great and good friend Mr. Walpole on the road, and have had a voluminous correspondence this summer with him—You shall have a few broken hints.—I think I have informed you of my perusing Mr. Walpole's letters or rather memorials to the duke, and a very ample one to the duke of Newcastle. You have seen the answer to bishop Sherlock's colors and excuses for continuing the war last year, and his absurd notion of France, which I represented and enforced in order to provoke him to this work. It has been communicated to several persons of distinction. Chesterfield was eager for its being printed. But though Mr. Walpole is willing to give salutary instructions and informations, he abhorreth all public offence. Though Mr. Walpole's papers contradicted the king's and the duke's humor, H. R. H. was not offended with the address, but only on hearing they had been imparted to others. However, Mr. Walpole had a conference of more than two hours with the duke. H. R. H. was prepared, and managed with great art. As it was principal, I will only mention what passed relative to Prussia. Mr. Walpole strongly insisted on this power being gained, and observed how improper and faint all attempts had been. As the necessity was plain and pregnant, all who had access and interest with the king should talk in this absolute pressing strain. This was done in a less considerable instance. When Granville became intolerable and impracticable, all the ministers were absolute and peremptory. The duke replied with resentment, that he hoped never again to see his royal father have such usage. Mr. Walpole rejoined what he suggested might be done strongly and decisively, without giving offence. In order to draw the real attention and confidence of Prussia, the affair should be communicated to parliament. This would be popular, and produce the strongest votes. When his having been a little too forward and busy was insinuated, Mr. Walpole let him know that persons well affected and of consequence would have brought it into parliament, had it

" not.

“ not been for his interposition. Mr. Walpole represented the sure
“ and speedy conquests the French might make of the continent.
“ What then would become of all his family? Every one would be
“ for making their own compositions, and the rather as this was the
“ effect of a known aversion to Prussia. The duke then mentioned
“ Sir E. Fawkener’s being sent. Mr. Walpole said, the minister was
“ not so material as the previous assurances and instructions. But
“ he afterwards took occasion three times to inculcate H. R. H. going
“ in person; and added, the affair would be thus completed at Ber-
“ lin in 24 hours. It could not be, or silence was the answer.
“ Villiers, who is an able minister, by Granville’s advice, refused
“ to go. Chesterfield’s last work was to draw up Legge’s instruc-
“ tions; they were excellent. What alterations have been made I
“ know not. Legge, that his errand might not be insignificant,
“ has ventured to make offers, which have given offence.”

[79] Mr. George Stanhope, brother to earl Stanhope, had a regiment.

[80] Letters to Mr. Dayrolles.

NOTES OF SECTION VI.

[1] **A**RTHUR'S Chocolate-house, formerly White's, from whence many of the Tatlers are dated. Lord Chesterfield being once asked, Why he never was seen at routs and assemblies? answered, That he never went to conventicles where there was an established church.

[2] Letters to Mr. Dayrolles, p. 342.

[3] French Letters in this collection, p. 85, 109.

[4] Letters to Mr. Dayrolles, p. 336.

[5] French Letters in this collection, p. 113.

[6] Ibid. p. 179—181.

[7] From private information.

[8] Letters to his son, vol. I. p. 288.

[9] Letters to Mr. Dayrolles, p. 335.

[10] Letters to his son, vol. I. p. 298.

[11] Ibid. vol. I. p. 389.

[12] "Few things would mortify me more than to see you bearing a part in a concert with a fiddle under your chin, or a pipe in your mouth." Ibid. vol. I. p. 407.

[13] Ibid. letter CLXXX.

[14] Ibid. vol. II. p. 445.

[15] This expression is frequently used in lord Chesterfield's letters to his son.

[16] The duke de Nivernois. Letters to his son, vol. I. p. 545.

[17, 18] In this collection, vol. II.

[19] Lord Chesterfield had, with some difficulty, succeeded in procuring him a prebend of Windsor.

[20] Mr. Stanhope was now nineteen years old, a time of life when these exertions became particularly necessary.

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[21] For

[21] For the post of resident at Venice. See p. 202. of these Memoirs.

[22] "Lord Macclesfield, who had the greatest share in forming the bill, and who is one of the greatest mathematicians and astronomers in Europe, spoke afterwards with infinite knowledge and all the clearness that so intricate a matter would admit of; but as his words, his periods, and his utterance were not near so good as mine, the preference was most unanimously, though most unjustly, given to me." Letters to his son, vol. II. p. 118.

[23] French letters in this collection, p. 213.

[24] Marquis de Botta.

[25] Letter LXXVII. to Mr. Dayrolles in this collection.

[26] Letters to his son, vol. II. p. 352.

[27] French letters in this collection, p. 207.

[28] Ibid. p. 213.

[29] Letters to Mr. Dayrolles, p. 395.

[30] Letters to his son, vol. II. p. 328.

[31] Ibid. p. 306.

[32] Ibid. p. 324.

[33] Ibid. p. 329.

[34] Ibid. p. 331.

[35] This gentleman signalized himself in the last war in America, and was second in command to Monsieur de Montcalm, governor of Canada. The account of his voyage round the world since that time may be seen in two publications; one by Dom. Pernetty, and the other more at large by himself.

[36] The original and translation are both found in this collection of miscellaneous pieces, p. 276—281.

[37] Lord Pawlett.

[38] Ibid. p. 417.

[39] Ibid. p. 418.

[40] Letters to Mr. Dayrolles, p. 422.

[41] Ibid. p. 425.

[42] The actual forces of these powers employed against Great Britain and her ally the king of Prussia, amounted to upwards of 800,000 men, exclusive of the whole maritime power of France.

The

The Austrian forces were computed at	300,000 men.
The French at	300,000
The Russians employed on this occasion,	150,000
The Saxons,	30,000
The Swedes,	25,000
In all,	805,000

[43] Letter CX. to his son, vol. II.

[44] Letters to his son, vol. II. letter CIII.

[45] "I see by the news-papers, as well as by your letter, that the
 " difficulty still subsists about your ceremonial at Ratisbon: should
 " they, from pride and folly, prove insuperable, and obstruct your
 " real business, there is one expedient, which may perhaps remove
 " difficulties, and which I have often known practised; but which, I
 " believe, our people here know nothing of: it is to have the cha-
 " racter of *minister* only in the ostensible title, and that of envoy-
 " extraordinary in your pocket, to produce occasionally, especially if
 " you should be sent to any of the electors in your neighbourhood;
 " or else, in any transaction that you may have, in which your title
 " as envoy-extraordinary may create great difficulties, to have a
 " reversal given you, declaring, that the temporary suspension of
 " that character, *ne donnera pas la moindre atteinte ni à vos droits,*
 " *ni à vos prétentions.*" Ibid. letter CXLVII.

[46] Ibid. letter CL.

[47] Ibid. letter CLXXIX. CLXXX. &c,

[48] "You will not be in this parliament, at least not at the
 " beginning of it. I relied too much upon lord C—'s promise,
 " above a year ago at Bath." Ibid. letter CXCV.

[49] Ibid. letter CXCVI.

[50] He succeeded lord Stormont at the court of Vienna.

[51] Lord Chesterfield having suffered for a long time, and very
 severely, with the rheumatism, for which he had taken a variety of
 medicines without receiving any benefit, resolved at last to try the
 effect of calomel. He took five grains of it, and this producing no
 sensible alteration, he increased the dose in a day or two to seven.
 He was presently after seized with a salivation, the symptoms of

which ran very high, and which his physician tried in vain to stop. It continued for six weeks; but at the end of that time his lordship was entirely free from his rheumatic pains, and never felt them afterwards.

[52] Letter XXXIX. to the bishop of Waterford, p. 504.

[53] Ibid. letter XLI. p. 507.

[54] Ibid. letter XLVII. p. 514.

[55] Ibid. letter XLVII. p. 514.

[56] Ibid. letter XIII. p. 471.

[57] They are found in the second volume from p. 541. to 549.

[58] So great was lord Chesterfield's influence in Ireland, that I have been informed, no person was ever seen drunk in public during the whole of his administration.

[59] Letters to Mr. Prior, p. 546.

[60] Letter L. to the bishop of Waterford.

[61] This is also the opinion of another philosophic and elegant writer of the present age, who seems to have pursued the same idea. But since Paraguay has been brought under the dominion of Spain, it has appeared, that the empire which these fathers have exercised in that extensive continent, has been founded on the most odious principles of tyranny; and that they had reduced the deluded and barbarous inhabitants of that fertile spot to the most abject state of slavery.

[62] See French letters in this collection, p. 233.

[63] All the estates that came from the late earl to his successor were annexed to the title by his will.

[64] Letter LIX. to the bishop of Waterford.

[65] Mr. D'Eyverdun, a Swiss gentleman of good family and great abilities, recommended to lord Chesterfield by Mr. Dayrolles.

[66] See p. 154. of these memoirs.

[67] Letter XLVIII. to the bishop of Waterford.

[68] Ibid. letter LXI.

[69] The editor is obliged to Mr. Dayrolles for this information, as well as for the communication of several other very material circumstances;

cumstances; and embraces this opportunity of making his public acknowledgements to him for his great civilities.

[70] By the death of Sir William Stanhope, the Buckinghamshire estate, amounting to eight thousand pounds *per annum*, which had been given to him by his father on his first marriage, reverted to the earl.

[71] Dr. Warren, physician to the king.

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- Page 76. L. 19. After the word *rudder*, insert [reference, 10.]
78. L. 5. After the word *flighted*, insert [reference, 13.]

LORD

J. H. A. T. A.

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LORD CHESTERFIELD'S
MISCELLANEOUS PIECES.

I.

FOG'S JOURNAL*.

SATURDAY, Jan. 17, 1736.

N^o 376.

I AM not of the opinion of those, who think that our ancestors were in every respect wiser than we, and who reject every new invention as chimerical, and brand it with the name of project. On the contrary, I am persuaded, that most things are still capable of improvement; for which reason I always give a fair and impartial hearing to all new proposals, and have often, in the course of my life, found great advantage by so doing.

I very early took Mr. Ward's Drop, notwithstanding the great discouragement it met with, in its infancy, from an honorable author, eminent for his political sagacity, who asserted it to be liquid popery and Jacobitism. I reaped great benefit from it, and recommended it to so many of my friends, that I question whether the author of that great specific is more obliged to any one man in the kingdom than myself, excepting one.

I have likewise, as well as my brother Caleb †, great hopes of public advantage, arising from the skill and discoveries of that

* This was one of the weekly publications against sir R. Wapole's administration. It was first intitled Mist's Journal. I suspect, that lord Chesterfield had, several times before, lent his hand to the writers of this witty paper; but I have no authority to assert it. This, and the two following essays, were generally allowed to be his.

† The Craftman, in which lord Bolingbroke was principally engaged, went under the name of Caleb D'Anvers esq.

ingenious operator, Dr. Taylor; notwithstanding the late objections of Mrs. Osborne* and her most subtle distinctions between the eye politic, and the eye natural.

Some inventions have been improved, ages after their first discovery, and extended to uses so obvious, and so nearly resembling those, for which they were at first intended, that it is surprizing how they could have so long escaped the sagacity of mankind. For instance, printing, though used but within these few centuries, has in reality been invented thousands of years; and it is astonishing, that it never occurred to those, who first stamp images and inscriptions upon metals, to stamp likewise their thoughts upon wax, barks of trees, or whatever else they wrote upon.

This example should hinder one from thinking any thing brought to its *ne plus ultra* of perfection, when so plain an improvement lay for many ages undiscovered.

The scheme I am now going to offer to the public is of this nature, so very plain, obvious, and of such evident emolument, that I am convinced my readers will both be surprized and concerned, that it did not occur to every body, and that it was not put in practice many years ago.

I took the first hint of it from an account a friend of mine gave me, of what he himself had seen practised with success at a foreign court; but I have extended it considerably, and I flatter myself, that it will, upon the strictest examination, appear to be the most practicable and useful, and, at this time, necessary project that has, it may be, ever been submitted to the public.

My friend, having resided some time at a very considerable court in Germany, had there contracted an intimacy with a German prince, whose dominions and revenues were as small as his birth was great and illustrious; there are some few such in the august Germanic body. This prince made him promise, that whenever he should return to England, he would take him in his way, and make him a visit in his principality. Accordingly, some time afterwards, about two

* The signature to one of the ministerial papers being F. Osborne esq; (who was the eldest and gravest of their writers) his antagonists made an old woman of the author, and nick-named him Mother Osborne, under which title he figures in the second book of the Dunciad.

years ago, he waited upon his serene highness; who, being apprized a little beforehand of his arrival, resolved to receive him with all possible marks of honor and distinction.

My friend was not a little surprized, to find himself conducted to the palace, through a lane of soldiers, resting their firelocks, and the drums beating a march. His highness, who observed his surprize, and who, by the way, was a wag, after the first compliments usual upon such occasions, spoke very gravely to him thus :

“ I do not wonder, that you, who are well informed of the narrowness both of my territories and my fortune, should be astonished at the number of my standing forces; but I must acquaint you, that the present critical situation of my affairs would not allow me to remain defenceless, while all my neighbours were arming around me. There is not a prince near me, that has not made an augmentation in his forces, some of four, some of eight, and some even of twelve men; so that you must be sensible that it would have been consistent neither with my honor nor safety, not to have increased mine. I have therefore augmented my army up to forty effective men, from but eight and twenty, that they were before; but in order not to overburthen my subjects with taxes, nor oppress them by the quartering and insolence of my troops, as well as to remove the least suspicion of my designing any thing against their liberties; to tell you the plain truth, my men are of wax, and exercise by clock-work. You easily perceive,” added he smiling, “ that if I were in any real danger, my forty men of wax are just as good a security to me, as if they were of the very best flesh and blood in Christendom: as for dignity and show, they answer those purposes full as well, and in the mean time they cost me so little, that our dinner will be much the better for it.”

My friend respectfully signified to him his sincere approbation of his wise and prudent measures, and assured me that he had never in his life seen finer bodies of men, better sized, nor more warlike countenances.

The ingenious contrivance of this wise and warlike potentate struck me immediately, as a hint that might be greatly improved to the public advantage, and without any one inconveniency, at least

that occurred to me. I have turned it every way in my thoughts, with the utmost care, and shall now present it to my readers, willing however to receive any further lights and assistance, from those who are more skilled in military matters than I am.

I ask but two *postulata*, which I think cannot be denied me ; and then my proposal demonstrates its own utility.

First, That for these last five and twenty years, our land forces have been of no use whatsoever, nor even employed, notwithstanding the almost uninterrupted disturbances that have been in Europe, in which our interests have been as nearly concerned as ever they are likely to be for these five and twenty years to come.

Secondly, That our present army is a very great expence to the nation, and has raised jealousies and discontents in the minds of many of his majesty's subjects.

I therefore humbly propose, that, from and after the 25th day of March next, 1736, the present numerous and expensive army be totally disbanded, the commission officers excepted, and that proper persons be authorized, to contract with Mrs. Salmon, for raising the same number of men in the best of wax.

That the said persons be likewise authorized to treat with that ingenious mechanic, Myn Heer Von Pinchbeck, for the clock-work necessary for the said number of land-forces.

It appears from my first *postulatum*, that this future army will be, to all intents and purposes, as useful as ever our present one has been ; and how much more beneficial it will be, is what I now beg leave to shew.

The curious are often at great trouble and expence, to make imitations of things, which things are to be had easier, cheaper, and in greater perfection themselves. Thus infinite pains have been taken of late, but alas in vain, to bring up our present army to the nicety and perfection of a waxen one : it has proved impossible to get such numbers of men, all of the same height, the same make, with their own hair, timing exactly together the several motions of their exercise, and above all, with a certain military fierceness, that is not natural to British countenances : even some very considerable officers have been cashiered for wanting

SOME OF THE PROPERTIES
OF WAX.

By

By my scheme, all these inconveniencies will be entirely removed; the men will be all of the same size, and, if thought necessary, of the same features and complexion: the requisite degree of fierceness may be given them, by the proper application of whiskers, scars, and such like indications of courage, according to the tastes of their respective officers; and their exercise will, by the skill and care of Myn Heer Von Pinchbeck, be in the highest German taste, and may possibly arrive at the *one motion*, that great *desideratum* in our discipline. The whole, thus ordered, must certainly furnish a more delightful spectacle than any hitherto exhibited, to such as are curious of reviews and military exertations.

I am here aware that the grave Mrs. Osborne will seriously object, that this army, not being alive, cannot be useful; and that the more lively and ingenious Mr. Walsingham* may possibly insinuate, that a waxen army is not likely to stand fire well.

To the lady, I answer thus beforehand, that if, in the late times of war, our present army has been of no more use than a waxen one, a waxen one will now, in time of peace, be as useful as they; and as to any other reasons, that she or her whole sex may have, for preferring a live standing army to this, they are considerations of a private nature, and must not weigh against so general and public a good.

To the pleasant 'squire I reply, that this army will stand its own fire very well; which is all that seems requisite.

But give me leave to say too, that an army thus constituted will be very far from being without its terror, and will doubtless strike all the fear that is consistent with the liberties of a free people; wax, it is well known, being the most natural and expressive imitation of life, as it unites in itself the different advantages of painting and sculpture.

Our British monarchs in the Tower are never beheld but with the profoundest respect and reverence; and that bold and manly representation of Henry the eighth, never fails to raise the strongest images of one kind or another in its beholders of both sexes. Such is the

* The Free Briton by Francis Walsingham esq; (published under the direction of sir Robert Walpole) was written by William Arnall, who was bred an attorney, but commenced party-writer when under twenty. See the notes on the Dunciad, Book II; where Arnall is said to have received, for Free Britons and other writings, in four years, the sum of 10997*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* out of the treasury.

force

force of divine right, though but in wax, upon the minds of all good and loyal subjects.

Nobody ever saw the court of France lately exhibited here in wax-work, without a due regard ; infomuch that an habitual good courtier was observed respectfully bowing to their most Christian majesties, and was at last only convinced of his error by the silence of the court. An army of the same materials will certainly have still a stronger effect, and be more than sufficient to keep the peace, without the power of breaking it.

My readers will observe, that I only propose a reduction of the private men, for, upon many accounts, I would by no means touch the commissions of the officers. In the first place, they most of them deserve very well of the public; and in the next place, as they are all in parliament, I might, by proposing to deprive them of their commissions, be suspected of political views, which I protest I have not. I would therefore desire, that the present set of officers may keep the keys, to wind up their several regiments, troops, or companies ; and that a master-key to the whole army be lodged in the hands of the general in chief for the time being, or in default of such, in the hands of the prime minister.

From my second *postulatum*, that the present army is expensive, and gives uneasiness to many of his majesty's good subjects, the further advantages of my scheme will appear.

The chief expence here will be only the prime cost ; and I even question whether that will exceed the price of live men, of the height, proportions, and tremendous aspects, that I propose these should be of. But the annual saving will be so considerable, that I will appeal to every sensible and impartial man in the kingdom, if he does not sincerely think that this nation would have been now much more flourishing and powerful, if, for these twenty years last past, we had had no other army.

Another considerable advantage consists in the great care and convenience, with which these men will be quartered in the countries ; where, far from being an oppression or disturbance to the public houses, they will be a genteel ornament and decoration to them, and instead of being inflicted as a punishment upon the dis-

affected, will probably be granted as a favour, to such inn-keepers as are supposed to be the most in the interest of the administration, and that too possibly with an exclusive privilege of shewing them. So that I question, whether a certain great city may not be eloquently threatened with having no troops at all.

As I am never for carrying any project too far, I would, for certain reasons, not extend this, at present, to Gibraltar, but would leave the garrison there alive as long as it can keep so.

Let nobody put the Jacobite upon me, and say, that I am paving the way for the pretender, by disbanding this army. That argument is worn threadbare; besides, let those take the Jacobite to themselves, who would exchange the affections of the people for the fallacious security of an unpopular standing army.

But, as I know I am suspected by some people to be no friend to the present ministry, I would most carefully avoid inserting any thing in this project that might look peevish, or like a design to deprive them of any of the necessary means of carrying on the government. I have therefore already declared, that I did not propose to affect the commissions of any of the officers, though a very great saving would arise to the public thereby. And I would further provide, that, in the disbanding the present army, an exact account should be taken of every soldier's right of voting in elections, and where, and that the like number of votes, and for the same places, shall be reserved to every regiment, troop, or company, of this new army; these votes to be given collectively, by the officers of the said regiment, troop, or company, in as free and uninfluenced a manner as hath at any time been practised within these last twenty years.

Moreover, I would provide, that *Mann* and *Day** shall, as at present, have the entire cloathing of this new army, so scrupulous am I of distressing the administration.

People are generally fond of their own projects, and it may be, I look upon this with the partiality of a parent; but I protest I cannot find any one objection to it. It will save an immense expence to the nation, remove the fears that at present disturb the minds of many, and answer every one of the purposes, to which our present

* Two very considerable woollen-drapers, in the Strand; the first of them was grandfather to Sir Horatio Mann.

army has been applied. The numbers will sound great and formidable abroad, the individuals will be gentle and peaceable at home; and there will be an increase to the public of above fifty thousand hands for labour and manufactures, which at present are either idle, or but scurvily employed.

I cannot, I own, help flattering myself, that this scheme will prevail, and the more so from the very great protection and success wax-work has lately met with; which, I imagine, was only as an essay or *tentamen* to some greater design of this nature. But, whatever be the event of it, this alternative I will venture to assert, that by the 25th of March next, either the army or another body of men must be of wax.

 IL

F O G'S J O U R N A L.

SATURDAY, Jan. 24, 1736.

N 377.

HUMAN nature, though every where the same, is so seemingly diversified by the various habits and customs of different countries, and so blended with the early impressions we receive from our education, that they are often confounded together, and mistaken for one another. This makes us look with astonishment upon all customs that are extremely different from our own, and hardly allow those nations to be of the same nature with ourselves, if they are unlike in their manners; whereas all human actions may be traced up to those two great motives, the pursuit of pleasure, and the avoidance of pain: and upon a strict examination, we shall often find, that those customs, which at first view seem the most different from our own, have in reality a great analogy with them.

What more particularly suggested this thought to me, was an account which a gentleman, who was lately returned from China, gave, in a company where I happened to be present, of a pleasure held in high esteem, and extremely practised by that luxurious nation.

He told us, that the tickling of the ears, was one of the most exquisite sensations known in China; and that the delight administered to the whole frame, through this organ, could, by an able and skilful tickler, be raised to whatever degree of extasy the patient should desire.

The company, struck with this novelty, expressed their surprize, as is usual on such occasions, first by a filly silence, and then by many filly questions. The account too, coming from so far as China, raised both their wonder and their curiosity, much more than if it had come from any European country, and opened a larger field for pertinent questions. Among others, the gentleman was asked, whether the Chinese ears and fingers had the least resemblance to ours; to which having answered in the affirmative, he went on thus.

“ I perceive, I have excited your curiosity so much by mentioning a custom so unknown to you here, that I believe it will not be disagreeable, if I give you a particular account of it.

“ This pleasure, strange as it may seem to you, is in China reckoned almost equal to any that the senses afford. There is not an ear in the whole country untickled; the ticklers have, in their turn, others who tickle them, insomuch, that there is a circulation of tickling throughout that vast empire. Or if, by chance, there be some few unhappy enough not to find ticklers, or some ticklers clumsy enough not to find business, they comfort themselves at least with self-titillation.

“ This profession is one of the most lucrative and considerable ones in China, the most eminent performers being either handsomely requited in money, or still better rewarded by the credit and influence it gives them with the party tickled; insomuch, that a man's fortune is made, as soon as he gets to be tickler to any considerable mandarin.

“ The emperor, as in justice he ought, enjoys this pleasure in its highest perfection; and all the considerable people contend for the honor and advantage of this employment, the person who succeeds the best in it being always the first favourite, and chief dispenser of his imperial power. The principal mandarins are allowed to try their hands upon his majesty's sacred ears, and according to

their dexterity and agility, commonly rise to the posts of first ministers. His wives too are admitted to try their skill; and she among them, who holds him by the ear, is reckoned to have the surest and most lasting hold. His present imperial majesty's ears, as I am informed, are by no means of a delicate texture, and consequently not quick of sensation, so that it has proved extremely difficult to nick the tone of them: the lightest and finest hands have utterly failed, and many have miscarried, who, from either fear or respect, did not treat the royal ears so roughly as was necessary. He began his reign under the hands of a bungling operator, whom for his clumsiness he soon dismissed: he was afterwards attempted by a more skilful tickler; but he sometimes failed too, and, not being able to hit the humour of his majesty's ears, his own have often suffered for it.

"In this public distress, and while majesty laboured under the privation of auricular joys, the empress, who, by long acquaintance, and frequent little trials, judged pretty well of the texture of the royal ear, resolved to undertake it, and succeeded perfectly, by means of a much stronger friction than others durst either attempt, or could imagine would please.

"In the mean time, the skilful mandarin, far from being discouraged by the ill success he had sometimes met with in his attempts upon the emperor's ears, resolved to make himself amends upon his imperial consort's: he tried, and he prevailed; he tickled her majesty's ear to such perfection, that, as the emperor would trust his ear to none but the empress, she would trust hers to none but this light-fingered mandarin, who, by these means, attained to unbounded and uncontrouled power, and governed ear by ear.

"But, as all the mandarins have their ear-ticklers too, with the same degree of influence over them, and as this mandarin was particularly remarkable for his extreme sensibility in those parts, it is hard to say from what original titillation the imperial power now flows."

The conclusion of the gentleman's story was attended with the usual interjections of wonder and surprize from the company. Some called it strange, some odd, and some very comical; and those, who thought it the most improbable, I found by their questions, were

the most desirous to believe it. I observed too, that, while the story lasted, they were most of them trying the experiment upon their own ears, but without any visible effect that I could perceive.

Soon afterwards, the company broke up; and I went home, where I could not help reflecting, with some degree of wonder, at the wonder of the rest, because I could see nothing extraordinary in the power, which the ear exercised in China, when I considered the extensive influence of that important organ in Europe. Here, as in China, it is the source of both pleasure and power; the manner of applying to it is only different. Here the titillation is vocal, there it is manual, but the effects are the same; and, by the bye, European ears are not always unacquainted neither with manual application.

To make out the analogy I hinted at, between the Chinese and ourselves, in this particular, I will offer to my readers, some instances of the sensibility and prevalency of the ears of Great Britain.

The British ears seem to be as greedy and sensible of titillation as the Chinese can possibly be; nor is the profession of an ear-tickler here any way inferior, or less lucrative. There are of three sorts, the private tickler, the public tickler, and the self-tickler.

Flattery is, of all methods, the surest to produce that vibration of the air, which affect the auditory nerves with the most exquisite titillation; and according to the thinner or thicker texture of those organs, the flattery must be more or less strong. This is the immediate province of the private tickler, and his great skill consists in tuning his flattery to the ear of his patient; it were endless to give instances of the influence and advantages of those artists, who excel in this way.

The business of a public tickler is, to modulate his voice, dispose his matter, and enforce his arguments in such a manner, as to excite a pleasing sensation in the ears of a number or assembly of people: this is the most difficult branch of the profession, and that in which the fewest excel; but to the few who do it, is the most lucrative, and the most considerable. The bar has at present but few proficient of this sort, the pulpit none, the ladder alone seems not to decline.

I must not here omit one public tickler of great eminency, and whose titillative faculty must be allowed to be singly confined to the ear, I mean the great signior Farinelli, to whom such crowds resort, for the extasy he administers to them through that organ, and who so liberally requite his labours, that, if he will but do them the favour to stay two or three years longer, and have two or three benefits more, they will have nothing left but their ears to give him.

The self-tickler is as unhappy as contemptible; for, having none of the talents necessary for tickling of others, and consequently not worth being tickled by others neither, he is reduced to tickle himself: his own ears alone receive any titillation from his own efforts. I know an eminent performer of this kind, who, by being nearly related to a skilful public tickler, would fain set up for the business himself, but has met with such repeated discouragements, that he is reduced to the mortifying resource of self-titillation, in which he commits the most horrid excesses.

Besides the proofs above-mentioned, of the influence of the ear in this country, many of our most common phrases and expressions, from whence the genius of a people may always be collected, demonstrate, that the ear is reckoned the principal and most predominant part of our whole mechanism. As for instance:

To have the ear of one's prince, is understood by every body to mean having a good share of his authority, if not the whole, which plainly hints how that influence is acquired.

To have the ear of the first minister, is the next, if not an equal, advantage. I am therefore not surprized, that so considerable a possession should be so frequently attempted, and so eagerly solicited, as we may always observe it is. But I must caution the person, who would make his fortune in this way, to confine his attempt strictly to the ear in the singular number; a design upon the ears, in the plural, of a first minister being for the most part rather difficult and dangerous, however just.

To give ear to a person implies, giving credit, being convinced, and being guided by that person; all this by the success of his endeavours upon that prevailing organ.

To

To lend an ear, is something less, but still intimates a willingness and tendency in the lender to be prevailed upon by a little more tickling of that part. Thus the lending of an ear is a sure preface of success to a skilful tickler. For example, a person who lends an ear to a minister, seldom fails of putting them both in his power soon afterwards; and when a fine woman lends an ear to a lover, she shews a disposition at least to further and future titillation.

To be deaf, and to stop one's ears, are common and known expressions, to signify a total refusal and rejection of a person or proposition; in which case I have often observed the manual application to succeed by a strong vellication or vigorous percussion of the outward membranes of the ear.

There cannot be a stronger instance of the great value that has always been set upon these parts, than the constant manner of expressing the utmost and most ardent desire people can have for any thing, by saying they would "give their ears" for it; a price so great, that it is seldom either paid or required. Witness the numbers of people actually wearing their ears still, who in justice have long since forfeited them.

Over head and ears would be a manifest *pleonasmus*, the head being higher than the ears, were not the ears reckoned so much more valuable than all the rest of the head, as to make it a true climax.

It were unnecessary to mention, as farther proofs of the importance and dignity of those organs, that pulling, boxing, or cutting off the ears, are the highest insults that choleric men of honor can either give or receive; which shews that the ear is the seat of honor as well as of pleasure.

The anatomists have discovered, that there is an intimate correspondence between the palm of the hand and the ear, and that a previous application to the hand communicates itself instantly, by the force and velocity of attraction, to the ear, and agreeably prepares that part to receive and admit of titillation. I must say too, that I have known this practised with success upon very considerable persons of both sexes.

I have.

Having thus demonstrated, by many instances, that the ear is the most material part in the whole mechanism of our structure, and that it is both the seat and source of honor, power, pleasure, and pain, I cannot conclude without an earnest exhortation to all my country-folks, of whatsoever rank or sex, to take the utmost care of their ears. Guard your ears, O ye princes, for your power is lodged in your ears. Guard your ears, ye nobles, for your honor lies in your ears. Guard your ears, ye fair, if you would guard your virtue. And guard your ears, all my fellow subjects, if you would guard your liberties and properties.

 III.

F O G ' S J O U R N A L .

SATURDAY, April 10, 1736.

N^o 388.

HAVING in a former paper set forth the valuable privileges and prerogatives of the EAR, I should be very much wanting to another material part of our composition, if I did not do justice to the EYES, and shew the influence they either have, or ought to have, in Great Britain.

While the eyes of my countrymen were in a great measure the part that directed, the whole people saw for themselves; seeing was called believing, and was a sense so much trusted to, that the eyes of the body and those of the mind were, in speaking, indifferently made use of for one another. But I am sorry to say that the case is now greatly altered; and I observe with concern an epidemical blindness, or, at least, a general weakness and distrust of the eyes scattered over this whole kingdom, from which we may justly apprehend the worst consequences.

This

This observation must have, no doubt, occurred to all who frequent public places, whom, instead of seeing so many eyes employed, as usual, either in looking at one another, or in viewing attentively the object that brings them there, we find modestly delegating their faculty to glasses of all sorts and sizes to see for them. I remarked this more particularly at an opera I was at, the beginning of this winter, where Polypheme was almost the only person in the house that had two eyes; the rest had but one apiece, and that a glass one.

As I cannot account for this general decay of our optics from any natural cause, not having observed any alteration in our climate or manner of living, considerable enough to have brought so suddenly upon us this universal short-sightedness, I cannot but entertain some suspicions, that their pretended helps to the sight are rather deceptions of it, and the inventions of wicked and designing persons, to represent objects in that light, shape, size, and number, in which it is their inclination or interest to have them beheld. I shall communicate to the public the grounds of my suspicion.

The honest plain spectacles and reading-glasses were formerly the refuge only of aged and decayed eyes; they accompanied grey hairs, and in some measure shared their respect: they magnified the object a little, but still they represented it in its true light and figure. Whereas now the variety of refinements upon this first useful invention have persuaded the youngest, the strongest, and the finest eyes in the world out of their faculty, and convinced them, that, for the true discerning of objects, they must have recourse to some of these *media*; nay, into such disrepute is the natural sight now fallen, that we may observe, while one eye is employed in the glass, the other is carefully covered with the hand, or painfully shut, not without shocking distortions of the countenance.

It is very well known, that there are not above three or four eminent operators for these portable or pocket-eyes, and that they engross that whole business. Now, as these persons are neither of them people of quality, *who are always above such infamous and dirty motives*, it is not unreasonable to suppose that they may be liable to a pecuniary influence; nor consequently is it improbable that an administration

tion should think it worth its while, even at a large expence, to secure those few that are to see for the bulk of the whole nation. This surely deserves our attention.

It is most certain, that great numbers of people already see objects in a very different light from what they were ever seen in before, by the naked and undeluded eye, which can only be ascribed to the misrepresentations of some of these artificial *media*, of which I shall enumerate the different kinds that have come to my knowledge.

The looking-glass, which for many ages was the minister and counsellor of the fair sex, has now greatly extended its jurisdiction; every body knows that that glass is backed with quicksilver, to hinder it from being diaphanous; so that it stops the beholder, and presents him again to himself. Here his views center all in himself, and dear self alone is the object of his contemplations. This kind of glass, I am assured, is now the most common of any, especially among people of distinction, insomuch that nine in ten of the glasses that we daily see levelled at the public are in reality not diaphanous, but agreeably return the looker to himself, while his attention seems to be employed upon others.

The reflecting telescope has of late gained ground considerably, not only among the ladies, who chiefly view one another through that medium, but has even found its way into the cabinets of princes; in both which cases it suggests reflections to those, who before were not apt to make many.

The microscope, or magnifying glass, is an engine of dangerous consequence, though much in vogue: it swells the minutest object to a most monstrous size, heightens the deformity, and even deforms the beauties of nature. When the finest hair appears like a tree, and the finest pore like an abyss, what disagreeable representations may it exhibit, and what fatal mistakes may it mutually occasion between the two sexes! Nature has formed all objects for that point of view in which they appear to the naked eye; their perfection lessens in proportion as they leave out that point, and many a Venus would cease to appear one, even to her lover, were she, by the help of a microscope, to be viewed in the ambient cloud of her

insensible perspiration. I bar Mrs. Osborne's returning my microscope upon me, since I leave her in quiet possession of the spectacles, and even of the reading-glasses, if she can make use of them.

There is another kind of glass now in great use, which is the oblique glass, whose tube, leveled in a strait line at one object, receives another in at the side, so that the beholder seems to be looking at one person, while another intirely engrosses his attention. This is a notorious engine of treachery and deceit; and yet, they say, it is for the most part made use of by ministers to their friends, and ladies to their husbands.

The smoked glass, that darkens even the lustre of the sun, must of course throw the blackest dye upon all other objects. This, though the most infernal invention of all, is far from being unpractised; and I knew a gentlewoman, who, in order to keep her husband at home, and in her own power, had his whole house glazed with it, so that the poor gentleman shut up his door, and neither went abroad, nor let any body in, for fear of conversing, as he thought, with so many devils.

The dangers that may one day threaten our constitution in general, as well as particular persons, from the variety of these mischievous inventions, are so obvious, that they hardly need be pointed out: however, as my countrymen cannot be too much warned against it, I shall hint at those that terrify me the most.

Suppose we should ever have a short-sighted prince upon the throne, though otherwise just, brave and wise; who can answer for his glass-grinder, and consequently, who can tell through what medium, and in what light, he may view the most important objects? or who can answer for the persons that are to take care of his glasses, and present them to him upon occasion? may not they change them, and slip a wrong one upon him, as their interest may require, and thus magnify, lessen, multiply, deform, or blacken, as they think proper; nay, and by means of the oblique glass abovementioned, shew him even one object for another? Where would the eye of the master be then? where would be that eye divinely deputed to watch over? but shrunk and contracted within the narrow circle of a deceitful tube.

On the other hand, should future parliaments, by arts of a designing minister, with the help of a corrupted glass-grinder, have delusive and perversive glasses slipped upon them, what might they see? or what might they not see? nobody can tell. I am sure every body ought to fear they might possibly behold a numerous standing army in time of peace, as an inoffensive and pleasing object, nay, as a security to our liberties and properties. They might see our riches increase by new debts, and our trade by high duties; and they might look upon the corrupt surrender of their own power to the crown, as the best protection of the rights of the people. Should this ever happen to be the case, we may be sure it must be by the interposition of some strange medium, since these objects were never viewed in this light by the naked and unassisted eyes of our ancestors.

In this general consideration, there is a particular one that affects me more than all the rest, as the consequence of it would be the worst. There is a body of men, who, by the wisdom and for the happiness of our constitution, make a considerable part of our parliament; all, or at least most of, these venerable persons, are, by great age, long study, or a low mortified way of living, reduced to have recourse to glasses. Now should their *media* be abused, and political translatives be slipped upon them; what scandal would their innocent, but misguided, conduct bring upon religion, and what joy would it give, at this time particularly, to the dissenters? Such as, I am sure, no true member of our church can think of without horror! I am the more apprehensive of this, from the late revival of an act that flourished with idolatry, and that had expired with it, I mean the staining of glass. That medium, which throws strange and various colours upon all objects, was formerly sacred to our churches, and consequently may, for aught I know, in the intended revival of our true church discipline, be thought a candidate worthy of our favour and reception, and so a stained medium be established as the true, orthodox, and canonical one.

I have found it much easier to point out the mischiefs I apprehend, than the means of obviating or remedying them, though I have turned it every way in my thoughts.

To have a certain number of persons appointed to examine and license all the glasses, that should be used in this kingdom, would be lodging so great a trust in those persons, that the temptations to betray it would be exceedingly great too; and it is to be feared that people of quality would not take the trouble of it, so that, *Quis custodiat ipsos custodes?* (By whom will these keepers be kept?)

I once thought of proposing, that a committee of both houses of parliament should be vested with that power: but I immediately laid that aside, for reasons which I am not obliged to communicate to the public.

At last, despairing to find out any legal method that should prove effectual, I resolved to content myself with an earnest exhortation to all my country-folks, of whatsoever rank or sex, to see with their own eyes, or not see at all, blindness being preferable to error.

See then with your own eyes, ye princes, though weak or dim: they will still give you a fairer and truer representation of objects, than you will ever have by the interposition of any medium whatsoever. Your subjects are placed in their proper point of view for your natural sight: viewing them in that point, you will see that your happiness consists in theirs, your greatness in their riches, and your power in their affections.

See likewise with your own eyes, ye people, and reject all proffered *media*: view even your princes with your natural sight; the true rays of majesty are friendly to the weakest eye, or, if they dazzle and scorch, it is owing to the interposition of burning-glasses. Destroy those pernicious *media*, and you will be pleased with the sight of one another.

In short, let the natural retrieve their credit, and resume their power: we shall then see things as they really are, which must end in the confusion of those, whose hopes and interests are founded upon misrepresentations and deceit.

IV.

C O M M O N S E N S E *.

S A T U R D A Y, February 5, 1737.

N^o I.*Rarus enim ferme sensus communis—Juv.*

Nothing so rare as common sense.

A PREFACE is, by long custom, become so necessary a part of a book, that should an author now omit that previous ceremony, he would be accused of presumption, and be supposed to imagine that his performance was above wanting any recommendation. By a preface, an author presents himself to the public, and begs their friendship and protection; if he does it gracefully and genteelly, he is well received, like many a fine gentleman upon the strength of his first address. Besides, were it not for the modest encomiums, which authors generally bestow upon themselves in their prefaces, their works would often die unpraised, and sometimes unread.

A weekly writer, I know, is not of a rank to pretend to a preface; but an humble introduction is expected from him. He must make his bow to the public at his first appearance, let them a little into his design, and give them a sample of what they are to expect from him afterwards.

In this case, it may be equally unhappy for him, to give himself out, like Æsop's fellow-slaves, for one that can do every thing, or like Æsop, for one that can do nothing; for, if he speaks too assumingly, the world will revolt against him, and if too modestly, be apt to take him at his word.

* This paper, in which several persons of eminence were concerned, was partly political and on the side of opposition, but mostly moral, and calculated for the improvement of manners and taste. Lord Lyttelton was one of the writers, and the papers which fell from his pen, have been inserted in the collection of his works.

Those, which are here given, sufficiently shew, by the original turn and admirable management of irony discernible in them, the masterly hand from which they came. Our authority, however, for producing them as lord Chesterfield's, is that of one of his particular friends, to whom his lordship gave the list, which we have followed.

These considerations determined me to make this first paper serve as an introduction to my future labours, though I am sensible that a weekly author is in a very different situation from an author in the lump.—If a wholesale dealer can, by an insinuating preface, prevail with people to buy the whole piece, his business is done, and it is too late for the deluded purchaser to repent, be the goods never so flimsy; but a weekly retailer is constantly bound to his good behaviour. He, like some others, holds both his honors and profits only *durante bene placito*; and whatever may be the success of his first endeavours, as soon as he flags in his painful hebdomadal course, he is rigorously struck off at once from his two-penny establishment.

Another difficulty, that occurred to me, was the present great number of my weekly brethren, with whom all people, except the stationers and the Stamp-office, think themselves already over-stocked; but this difficulty upon farther consideration lessened.

As for the London Journal, it cannot possibly interfere with me, as appears from the very title of my paper; moreover I was informed, that paper of the same size and goodness as the London Journal, being to be had much cheaper unprinted and unstamped, and yet as useful to all intents and purposes, was now universally preferred.

Fog's Journal, by a natural progression from Mist to Fog, is now condensed into a cloud, and only used by way of wet brown paper, in case of falls and contusions.

The Craftsman was the only rival that gave me any concern; that being the only one, I thought there was world enough for us both, and persuaded myself that, wiser than Cæsar and Pompey, we should content ourselves with dividing it between us: besides that, I never observed Mr. D'Anvers to be an enemy to common sense.

Being a man of great learning, I have, in choosing the name of my paper, had before my eyes that excellent precept of Horace to authors, to begin modestly, and not to promise more than they are able to perform, and keep up to the last.—I have therefore only entitled it Common Sense, which is all I pretend to myself, and no more than what, I dare say, the humblest of my readers pretends to likewise.

But

But, as a farther encouragement and invitation to the public to try me, I declare, that though I only promise them common sense, yet if I have any wit they shall have it into the bargain. Wherefore I desire my customers to look upon this weekly expence as a two-penny ticket in a lottery : it may possibly come up wit, and if a blank, at worst, common sense.

But, as modesty is the best recommendation to great minds, on the other side it is apt to prejudice little ones, who mistake it for ignorance, or guilt ; therefore, that I may not suffer by it with the latter, I must repeat a known observation, that common sense is no such common thing. I could give many instances of this truth, if I would, but decline it at present, and chuse to refer my readers to their several friends and acquaintance.

Should I here be asked then what I mean by common sense, if it is so uncommon a thing, I confess I should be at a loss to know how to define it. I take common sense, like common honesty, rather to be called common, because it should be so, than because it is so. It is rather that rule, by which men judge of other people's actions, than direct their own ; the plain result of right reason admitted by all, and practised by few.

An ingenious dramatic author has considered common sense as so extraordinary a thing, that he has lately, with great wit and humor, not only personified it, but dignified it too with the title of a queen. Though I am not sure that had I been to personify common sense, I should have borrowed my figure from that sex, yet as he has added the regal dignity, which by the law of the land removes all defects, I wave any objection.—The fair sex in general, queens excepted, are infinitely above plain downright common sense ; sprightly fancy and shining irregularities are their favourites, in which despairing to satisfy, though desirous to please, them, I have, in order to be of some use to them, stipulated with my stationer, that my paper shall be of the properest sort for pinning up of their hair. As the new French fashion is very favourable to me in this particular, I flatter myself, they will not disdain to have some common sense about their heads at so easy a rate.

Should

Should I ever, as possibly I often may, be extremely dull, I will not, as some of my predecessors have done, pretend that it was by design, for I protest that I do not intend it; but in that case, I claim my share in the present general indulgence to dulness, of being thought the wiser for it, and hope to meet with sympathetic nods of approbation from the most solid of my readers. Moreover, I shall go on the longer and the safer for it, dulness being the ballast of the mind, that fits it for a long voyage, keeps it steady, and secures it from the gusts of fancy and imagination.

I cannot help thinking how very advantageous it may be to a great many people to purchase my paper, were it only for the sake of the title.—Have you read common sense? Have you got common sense? are questions which one should be very sorry not to be able to answer in the affirmative; and yet, in order to be able to do it with truth, a precaution of this kind may possibly not be unnecessary, at least it can do no hurt.

As to the design of my paper, it is to take in all subjects whatsoever, and try them by the standard of common sense. I shall erect a kind of tribunal, for the *crimina lesi sensus communis*, or the pleas of common sense. But the method of proceeding must be different from that of other courts, or it would be contrary to the meaning and institution of this. The cause of common sense shall be pleaded in common sense. Let not the guilty hope to escape, or the innocent fear being puzzled, delayed, ruined, or condemned.

It would be endless for me to enumerate the various branches of the jurisdiction of this court, since every thing, more or less, falls under its cognizance. The possession or the want of common sense appears proportionably in the lowest, as well as in the highest, transactions, and a king and a cobbler, without it, will equally bungle in their respective callings. The *quicquid agunt homines* (actions of men) is my province; and *homines* comprehends, not only all men, but all women too, that is, as far as they are to be comprehended. The conduct of the fair sex will therefore come under my consideration; but with this indulgence, which is due to them, that, in trying their actions by the straight rule of common sense, I shall make proper allowances for those

pretty obliquities and deviations from it, which great vivacity, lively passions, and conscious beauty, frequently occasion, and in some measure justify.

The fine gentlemen cannot hope to escape trial, were it only as accessaries to their fair principals. I am aware, that they will cavil at the jurisdiction of the court, and will alledge, if they know how, that they are brought *coram non judice* (before an incompetent judge). I acknowledge too, that they have a presumptive kind of exemption from inquiries and prosecutions of this nature; but as this connivance, if too long indulged, might grow into a right, I must insist upon their appearing sometimes in court, where they shall meet with all the lenity, that is due to their birth and education.

But let all authors, from right honorable, or right reverend, down to the humblest inhabitant in Grubstreet, respect and tremble at the jurisdiction of the court. With them I disclaim all lenity, as they are generally the most daring and boldest offenders. I shall try them by my rule, as the tyrant Procrustes tried his subjects by his bed, and will, without mercy, stretch out those that fall short of it, and cut off from those who go beyond it.

I am sensible that common sense has lately met with very great discouragement in the noble science of politics; our chief professors having thought themselves much above those obvious rules that had been followed by our ancestors, and that lay open to vulgar understandings; they have weighed the interests of Europe in nicer scales, and settled them in so delicate a balance, that the least blast affects it. For my part, I shall endeavour to bring them back to the old solid English standard of common sense; but if by that means any gentlemen, who distinguish themselves in that sublime sphere, should be at a loss for business, and appear totally unqualified for it, I hope they will not lay their misfortunes to my charge, since it is none of my fault, if their interests and those of common sense happen to be incompatible.

If, in domestic affairs too, I should find that common sense has been neglected, I shall take the liberty to assert its rights, and represent the justice, as well as the expediency, of restoring it to its former credit and dignity. Our constitution is founded upon common sense
itself,

itself, and every deviation from one is a violation of the other: The several degrees and kinds of power, wisely allotted to the several constituent parts of our legislature, can only be altered by those, who have no more common sense than common honesty. Such offenders shall be proceeded against as guilty of high-treason, and suffer the severest punishment.

I foresee all the difficulties I am to struggle with, in the course of this undertaking; and see the improbability, if not the impossibility, that common sense should singly, by its own weight and merit, make its way into the world, and retrieve its lost empire. But as many valuable things in themselves have owed their reception and establishment, not to their own intrinsic worth, but to some lucky hit, or favourable concurrence of circumstances, so some such accident in my favour is what I more rely upon than the merit of my paper, should it have any. Fashion, which prevails nobody knows how, can introduce what reason would in vain recommend; and as, by the circulation of fashions, the old ones revive after a certain interval, the fashion of common sense seems to have been laid aside long enough to have a fair chance now for revival.

If therefore any fine woman, in good humour on a Saturday morning, would be pleased to drop a word in my favour, and say, "It is a good comical paper;" or any man of quality, at the head of taste, be so kind as to say, "It is not a bad thing"; I should become the fashion, and be universally bought up at least: and as for being read or not, it is other people's business, not mine.

As I am scrupulous even to delicacy in all my engagements, I must premise that, in intitling my paper Common Sense, I only mean the first half-sheet, or it may be a column of the next; the rest of the paper, which will contain the events foreign and domestic, I am very far from promising shall have any relation at all to common sense. But, as the chief profits of a weekly writer arise from thence, the world, which at least reasons very justly upon that subject, would, I am sure, think that I wanted common sense myself, if I neglected them.

Upon the whole, my intention is to rebuke vice, correct errors, reform abuses, and shame folly and prejudice, without regard to any

thing but common sense ; which, as it implies common decency too, I shall confine myself to things, and not attack persons ; it being my desire to improve or amuse every body, without shocking any body.

I do not think it necessary, at least yet, to give the public any information as to my person ; let my paper stand upon its own legs. My present resolution is to keep my name concealed, unless my success should some day or other tempt my vanity to discover it. All I will say at present is, that I never appeared in print before ; and if I should not meet with some encouragement now, I shall withdraw myself to my former retirements, and there indulge those oddnesses that compose my character ; the description of which, if I go on, may some time or other entertain my readers.

V.

C O M M O N S E N S E.

SATURDAY February 19, 1737.

N^o 3.

BERNIER informs us of a very extraordinary custom, which prevails to this day in the empire of the Mogol. His imperial majesty is annually weighed upon his birth-day, and if it appears that, since his former weighing, he has made any considerable acquisition of flesh, it is matter of public rejoicings throughout his whole dominions. Upon that great day too, his subjects are obliged to make him presents, which seldom amount to less than thirty millions.

This seems to be a custom which, like many customs in other countries, is merely observed for antiquity or form-sake ; but the original purpose for which it was at first wisely established, is either neglected or quite forgotten : or it is impossible to imagine, that his Mogol majesty's good and loyal subjects should find such matter of joy in the literal increase of their sovereign's materiality, which must of course render him less qualified for the functions and duties of his government ;

government; so that it is more reasonably to be presum'd, that, as all the oriental nations chuse to convey their precepts of religion, morality, and government through hieroglyphics, types, and emblems, this custom was originally allegorical, and signified the political increase of his majesty's weight, as to credit, power, and dominion; which might justly administer great joy to his faithful subjects.

Or, to carry my conjecture a little farther, is it impossible that his now absolute empire might formerly have been a limited one; the equal balance of which it might be necessary often to examine, in order to preserve it in its just equilibrium? In which case, it is highly probable, that his majesty was weighed against some counterpoise; or, to speak plainer, the prerogative of the prince might be examined with relation to the rights and privileges of the subject. What confirms me the more in this opinion, is the choice of the day for the operation. It was his sacred majesty's birth-day, a day in which he was supposed to be in good humour; and the presents were of a nature to put him in good humour, in case they had not found him so: which circumstances seem to be meant as preparatory sweetners to a ceremony, that would not otherwise have been very agreeable to him.

It will be no objection to my conjecture, to alledge the present absolute form of that government; since a very little knowledge of history will shew us, that the most absolute governments now in the world have been originally free ones, and only bought, bullied, or beaten out of their liberties.

This may very probably have been the case in Indostan, where the nobles and representatives of the people might think it both civil and prudent not to weigh quite fair against his majesty; but to lighten their own scale, that he might preponderate a little. This little by degrees increased the bulk of their successors, by continually adding more and more to it.

The superiority of weight probably pleased his majesty, and gave him a relish for more; which these great annual presents, swelling up his civil list, enabled him the better to gratify, by having where-

withal to corrupt the weighers on the part of the nobles and the
D d d 2 people,

people, till by degrees the whole weight was thrown into the royal scale, without any counterpoise. By such gradations this custom, originally established for the security of the constitution, may have dwindled into a mere pompous ceremony, and an expensive raree-show annually exhibited to a cozened people, in exchange for their liberties.

Would I follow the example of the most eminent critics, I could support these my criticisms and conjectures by innumerable authorities both antient and modern; and prove, beyond contradiction, from the natural history of fat, that it is impossible a sovereign can desire that great increase of his corporal bulk, or a good subject rejoice in it. But I shall content myself with a few.

Fat and stupidity are looked upon as such inseparable companions, that they are used as synonymous terms; and all the properties of corporal materiality, when applied to the mind, intimate slowness, heaviness, dulness, and such like qualities.

The *pinguis Minerva* of the antients shews us their opinion, that, if even the goddess of arts and wisdom herself were to grow fat, she would grow stupid too; which, if sauce for a god or goddess, may surely, with all due regard, be sauce for a king or queen.

Horace's *pingue ingenium*, or fat head, means by the same figure a puzzled, dull, impenetrable one.

The very air the Boeotians breathed was, from their stupidity, called a fat one; and at this day, a neighbouring nation, not less eminent than the Boeotians for the sedateness and tranquillity of their genius, are likewise distinguished by the weight and circumference of their bodies.

After these instances, it would not only be uncandid, but indecent, to suppose that any sovereign would desire to clog and encumber, by a load of flesh, those faculties upon whose clearness and quickness the welfare of his subjects, and his own glory, so much depend; besides that even bodily agility is highly necessary for a prince. A light, clever, active monarch can with more frequency and celerity visit his remotest dominions, where his presence may often be required. His military operations too may receive great lustre and advantage from the agility of his person; not to mention what a

fatal hindrance a prominent abdomen would prove to his royal exertations in the seraglio.

Having thus proved that this custom must originally have been only emblematical, and never meant literally as an annual register, or rather bill of fare, of the real pounds of flesh his Indian majesty may get or lose in the course of a year, let us examine a little whether this custom may not deserve, in future times, adoption here, and be advantageously introduced into our constitution.

Methinks even our constitution itself points out to us this very method of preserving it; the three constituent parts of the supreme legislative power form a kind of a political *trilanz*, to each scale of which a due fort and proportion of weight is wisely allotted, that they may all hang even, and yet, with all submission to a right reverend prelate, independent of each other. What then more natural than an annual examination and inspection of this *trilanz*?

That this method of weighing states and empires is very antient; appears from Homer, who tells us, that Jupiter himself weighed the fates of Greece and Troy: by what kind of scale he weighed them, I do not find, either in Eustathius, or any other commentator; but it is only evident by the side that prevailed, that it could not be Troy weight.

Such, I acknowledge, is the happiness of our present times, such the wisdom and integrity of all those who now compose the legislative power, and such the nice equality of the scales, that any caution of this nature would be altogether unnecessary; but common sense looks farther, and wisely provides against future, remote, and possible dangers.

As therefore I apprehend no danger this century, I only propose this measure to commence in the year of our Lord 1800, when, as it is naturally to be presumed that all the persons, of which the legislative power shall be composed, will be such as are now unborn, nobody can tell what may happen, nor how necessary it may be to weigh them frequently, and with the greatest exactness. This too is the more practicable here, because we have the balance of Europe now ready in our hands for the purpose: we have held it with vast credit and success, and infinite advantage of late, and no doubt

doubt shall continue long in possession of it; so that the legislature may certainly borrow it of the ministry a couple of days in the year for this domestic purpose.

In the performing of this operation, it seems absolutely necessary that all interchangeable presents, betwixt the parties to be weighed, be strictly prohibited, as they might give an undue share of weight to the scale in which they may be thrown, and have the same fatal consequences here, that, in my opinion, they have already had in Indostan; and should it ever happen that, through politeness, or any other motive, grains and drachms should be annually thrown into the regal scale, it must in the end so far preponderate, that it will be difficult, if not impossible, to retrieve it: nay, another case might happen, that would be very ridiculous, which is, if the regal scale and the popular scale, at the two extremities of the beam, should both be loaded with the spoils of the middle one, that middle one would still keep dangling, though quite empty.

What has been said hitherto relates only to metaphorical weight, and is meant to recommend to the serious care and attention of posterity the preservation of our happy constitution, and to advise them to be watchful of any the least innovation in any part of it. But I am not sure, whether the real literal weighing of many individuals may not greatly contribute to this good end; and I am the more confirmed in this opinion by an experiment of that kind, which, I am informed, has been for some years last past tried with great success. I am assured that in a great hall, at the country seat of a very considerable person in Christendom, there is a very magnificent pair of man scales, where the master of the house and his numerous guests are annually weighed, and are as annually found to increase immensely. This hint, I think, may admit of great improvements; something of this kind, whether scales or steel-yards, can be most advantageously made use of the first and last day of every session of parliament; though, in my humble opinion, the scale must be found the more decent of the two, because it must appear ludicrous, and consequently turn the whole ceremony into a kind of farce, to see the people of the first rank, both in church and state, dangling and sprawling at the end of a steel-yard.

But it is certain, that to come some way or other at the intrinsic weight of the individuals who compose our legislature, and to distinguish exactly betwixt that intrinsic weight, and the extraneous weight they may be apt to acquire, would greatly tend to preserve a due equilibrium, between the collective bodies that form our constitution.

I must own, many difficulties occur to me in this undertaking; but, as I am unwearied in my endeavours for the good of my country, I will turn this matter in my thought, till I have reduced it to some method that may appear to me to be practicable, when I shall not fail communicating it to the world, for the good of posterity. In the mean time, I shall think myself obliged to any ingenious person who shall send me his thoughts upon this subject, and help me to ascertain the due weight of every individual, as well as a true method of coming at it.

 VI.

C O M M O N S E N S E.

SATURDAY, February 26, 1737.

No 4.

THE Romans used to say, *ex pede Herculem*, or, you may know Hercules by his foot, intimating, that one may commonly judge of the whole by a part. I confess, I am myself very apt to judge in this manner, and may, without pretending to an uncommon share of sagacity, say, that I have very seldom found myself mistaken in it. It is impossible not to form to one's self some opinion of people the first time one sees them, from their air and dress; and a suit of cloaths has often informed me, with the utmost certainty, that the wearer had not common sense. The Greeks (to display my learning) said *ἡ μάστιξ ἀνδρὸς*, or, the dress shews the man; and it is certain, that of all trifling things, there is none by which people so much discover their natural turn of mind, as by their dress. In greater matters they proceed more cautiously, nature is disguised, and weaknesses are concealed by art or imitation; but in dress they give a loose to their fancy, and by declaring it an immaterial thing, though at the same time they do not think it so, promise themselves at least impunity, in their greatest oddnesses, and wildest excesses.

I shall

I shall therefore, in this paper, consider the subject of dress, by certain plain rules of common sense, which I shall strictly charge and require all persons to observe.

As dress is more immediately the province, not to say the pleasure, not to say the care, not to say the whole study, of the fair sex, I make my first application to them; and I humbly beg their indulgence, if the rules I shall lay down should prove a little contrary to those they have hitherto practised. There is a proper dress for every rank, age, and figure, which those who deviate from, are guilty of petty-treason against common sense; to prevent which crime for the future, I have some thoughts of disposing, in proper parts of the town, a certain number of babies in the statutable dress, for each rank, age, and figure, which, like the 25th of Edward III, shall reduce that matter to a precision.

Dress, to be sensible, must be properly adapted to the person, as in writing, the style must be suited to the subject, which image may not unaptly be carried on through the several branches of it. I am far from objecting to the magnificence of apparel, in those whose rank and fortune justify and allow it; on the contrary, it is a useful piece of luxury, by which the poor and the industrious are enabled to live, at the expence of the rich and the idle. I would no more have a woman of quality dressed in doggrel, than a farmer's wife in heroics. But I hereby notify to the profuse wives of industrious tradesmen and honest yeomen, that all they get by dressing above themselves, is the envy and hatred of their inferiors and their equals, with the contempt and ridicule of their superiors.

To those of the first rank in birth and beauty, I recommend a noble simplicity of dress; the subject supports itself, and wants none of the borrowed helps of external ornaments. Beautiful nature may be disfigured, but cannot be improved, by art; and as I look upon a very handsome woman to be the finest subject in nature, her dress ought to be epic, modest, noble, and entirely free from the modern tinsel. I therefore prohibit all *concetti*, and luxuriations of fancy, which only depreciate so noble a subject; and I must do the handsomest women I know, the justice to say, that they keep the clearest from these extravagances. Delia's good sense appears even in her dress,
which

which she neither studies nor neglects ; but, by a decent and modest conformity to the fashion, equally shuns the triumphant pageantry of an over-bearing beauty, or the insolent negligence of a conscious one.

As for those of an inferior rank of beauty, such as are only pretty women, and whose charms result rather from a certain air and *je ne sais quoi* in their whole composition, than from any dignity of figure, or symmetry of features, I allow them greater licences in their own ornaments, because their subject not being of the sublimest kind, may receive some advantages from the elegance of style, and the variety of images. I, therefore, permit them to dress up to all the flights and fancies of the sonnet, the madrigal, and such-like minor compositions. Flavia may serve for a model of this kind ; her ornaments are her amusement, not her care ; though she shines in all the gay and glittering images of dress, the prettiness of the subject warrants all the wantonness of the fancy. And if she owes them a lustre, which, it may be, she would not have without them, she returns them graces they could find no where else.

There is a third sort, who, with a perfect neutrality of face, are neither handsome nor ugly, and who have nothing to recommend them, but a certain smart and genteel turn of little figure, quick and lively. These I cannot indulge in a higher style than the epigram, which should be neat, clever, and unadorned, the whole to lie in the sting ; and where that lies, is unnecessary to mention.

Having thus gone through the important article of dress, with relation to the three classes of my country-women, who alone can be permitted to dress at all, *viz.* the handsome, the pretty, and the genteel, I must add, that this privilege is limited by common sense to a certain number of years, beyond which no woman can be any one of the three. I therefore require, that, when turned of thirty, they abate of the vigor of their dress ; and that, when turned of forty, they utterly lay aside all thoughts of it. And as an inducement to them so to do, I do most solemnly assure them, that they may make themselves ridiculous, but never desirable by it. When they are once arrived at the latitude of forty, the propitious gales are over ; let them gain the first port, and lay aside their rigging.

I come now to a melancholy subject, and upon which the freedom of my advice, I fear, will not be kindly taken ; but, as the cause of common sense is most highly concerned in it, I shall proceed without regard to the consequences. I mean the ugly, and, I am sorry to say it, so numerous a part of my country-women, I must, for their own sakes, treat them with some rigor, to save them not only from the public ridicule, but indignation. Their dress must not rise above plain humble prose ; and any attempts beyond it, amount at best to the mock-heroic, and excite laughter. An ugly woman should by all means avoid any ornament, that may draw eyes upon her, which she will entertain so ill. But if she endeavours, by dint of dress, to cram her deformity down mankind, the insolence of the undertaking is resented ; and when a Gorgon curls her snakes to charm the town, she would have no reason to complain if she lost head and all, by the hand of some avenging Perseus. Ugly women, who may more properly be called a third sex, than a part of the fair one, should publickly renounce all thoughts of their persons, and turn their minds another way ; they should endeavour to be honest good-humoured gentlemen, they may amuse themselves with field sports, and a chearful glass, and, if they could get into parliament, I should, for my own part, have no objection to it. Should I be asked how a woman shall know she is ugly, and take her measures accordingly ; I answer, that, in order to judge right, she must not believe her eyes, but her ears, and if they have not heard very warm addresses and applications, she may depend upon it, it was the deformity, and not the severity, of her countenance, that prevented them.

There is another sort of ladies, whose daily insults upon common sense call for the strongest correction, and who may most properly be stiled old offenders. These are the sexagenary fair ones, and upwards, who, whether they were handsome or not in the last century, ought at least in this to reduce themselves to a decency and gravity of dress suited to their years. These offenders are exceedingly numerous : witness all the public places, where they exhibit whatever art and dress can do, to make them compleatly ridiculous. I have often observed septuagenary great-grandmothers adorned, as they thought,

thought, with all the colours of the rainbow, while in reality they looked more like the decayed worms in the midst of their own silks. Nay, I have seen them proudly display withered necks, shriveled and decayed like their marriage-settlements, and which no hand, but the cold hand of time, had visited these forty years. The utmost indulgence I can allow here, is extreme cleanliness, that they may not offend more senses than the sight; but for the dress, it must be confined to the elegy and the *triflibus*.

What has been said with relation to the fair sex, holds true with relation to the other, only with still greater restrictions, as such irregularities are less pardonable in men than in ladies. A reasonable compliance with the fashion is no disparagement to the best understanding, and an affected singularity would; but an excess, beyond what age, rank, and character will justify, is one of the worst signs the body can hang out, and will never tempt people to call in. I see with indulgence the youth of our nation finely bound, and gilt on the back, and wish they were lettered into the bargain. I forgive them the unnatural scantiness of their wigs, and the immoderate dimensions of their bags, in consideration that the fashion has prevailed, and that the opposition of a few to it would be the greater affectation of the two. Though, by the way, I very much doubt whether they are all of them gainers by shewing their ears; for it is said that Midas, after a certain accident, was the judicious inventor of long wigs. But then these luxuriances of fancy must subside, when age and rank call upon judgment to check its excrescencies and irregularities.

I cannot conclude this paper, without an animadversion upon one prevailing folly, of which both sexes are equally guilty, and which is attended with real ill consequences to the nation; I mean that rage of foreign fopperies, by which so considerable a sum of ready money is annually exported out of the kingdom, for things which ought not to be suffered to be imported even *gratis*. In order therefore to prevent, as far as I am able, this absurd and mischievous practice, I hereby signify, that I will shew a greater indulgence than ordinary to those, who only expose themselves in the manufactures of their own country; and that they shall enjoy a connivance, in the nature

of a drawback, to those excesses, which otherwise I shall not tolerate.

I must add, that if it be so genteel to copy the French, even in their weaknesses, I should humbly hope it might be thought still more so, to imitate them where they really deserve imitation, which is, in preferring every thing of their own to every thing of other people's. A Frenchman, who happened to be in England, at the time of the last total eclipse of the sun, assured the people, whom he saw looking at it with attention, that it was not to be compared to a French eclipse: would some of our fine women emulate that spirit, and assert, as they might do with much more truth, that the foreign manufactures are not to be compared to the English, such a declaration would be worth two or three hundred thousand pounds a year to the kingdom, and operate more effectually than all the laws made for that purpose. The Roman ladies got the Oppian law, which restrained their dress, repealed, in spite of the unwearied opposition of the elder Cato. I exhort the British ladies to exert their power to better purposes, and to revive, by their credit, the trade and manufactures of their own country, in spite of the supine negligence of those, whose more immediate care it ought to be to cultivate and promote them.

VII.

C O M M O N S E N S E. N^o 14.

SATURDAY, April 30, 1737.

THOSE, who attack the fundamental laws of virtue and morality, urge the uncertainty of them, and alledge their variations in different countries, and even in different ages in the same countries. Morality, say they, is local, and consequently an imaginary thing, since what is rejected in one climate as a vice, is practised in another as a virtue; and according to them, the voice of nature speaks as many different languages as there are nations in the world.

The

The dangers and ill consequences of this doctrine are obvious, but surely the falsity of it is not less so; and the most charitable opinion one can entertain of those who propagate it, is, that they mistake fashion and custom, for nature and reason. The invariable laws of justice and morality are the first and universal emanations of human reason, while unprejudiced and uncorrupted; and we may as well say, that sickness is the natural state of the body, as that injustice and immorality are the natural situation of the mind. We contract most of the distempers of the one, by the irregularity of our appetites, and of the other, by yielding to the impetuosity of our passions; but in both cases, reason, when consulted, speaks a different language.

I admit, that the prevailing customs and fashions of most countries are not founded upon reason, and, on the contrary, are too frequently repugnant to it; but then the reasonable people of those countries condemn and abhor, though, it may be, they too wittingly comply with, or, at least, have not courage enough openly to oppose, them.

The people of rank and distinction, in every country, are properly called the people of fashion; because, in truth, they settle the fashion. Instead of subjecting themselves to the laws, they take measure of their own appetites and passions, and then make laws to fit them; which laws, though neither founded in justice, nor enacted by a legal authority, too often prevail over, and insult, both justice and authority. This is fashion.

In this light, I have often considered the word *honor* in its fashionable acceptance in this country, and must confess, that, were that the universal meaning of it throughout this kingdom, it would very much confirm the doctrine I endeavour to confute; and would be so contrary to that honor, which reason, justice, and common sense point out, that I should not wonder, if it inclined people to call in question the very existence of honor itself.

The character of a man of honor, as received in the *beau monde*, is something so very singular, that it deserves a particular examination; and, though easier observed than described, I shall endeavour to give my readers a description of it, illustrated with some original pieces, which have luckily fallen into my hands.

A man of honor is one, who peremptorily affirms himself to be so, and who will cut any body's throat that questions it, though upon the best grounds. He is infinitely above the restraints, which the laws of God or man lay upon vulgar minds, and knows no other ties but those of honor; of which word, he is to be the sole expounder. He must strictly adhere to a party denomination, though he may be utterly regardless of its principles. His expence should exceed his income considerably, not for the necessaries, but for the superfluities of life, that the debts he contracts may do him honor. There should be a haughtiness and insolence in his deportment, which is supposed to result from conscious honor. If he be choleric, and wrong-headed into the bargain, with a good deal of animal courage, he acquires the glorious character of a man of nice and jealous honor: and if all these qualifications are duly seasoned with the genteel vices, the man of honor is compleat; any thing his wife, children, servants, or tradesmen, may think to the contrary, notwithstanding.

Belville is allowed to be a man of the most consummate honor, that this or any age ever produced. The men are proud of his acquaintance, and the women of his protection; his party glories in being countenanced by him, and his honor is frequently quoted as a sanction for their conduct. But some original letters, which I shall give my readers, will let them more intimately into the particulars of so shining a character, than mere description would do.

He had run out a considerable fortune by a life of pleasure, particularly by gaming, and, being delicately scrupulous in points of honor, he wrote the following letter to his attorney, after an ill run at play:

“ S I R,

“ I HAD a damned tumble last night at hazard, and must raise
 “ a thousand within a week; get it me upon any terms, for I
 “ would rather suffer the greatest incumbrance upon my fortune,
 “ than the least blemish upon my honor. As for those clamorous
 “ rascals the tradesmen, insist upon my privilege, and keep them off

“ as

“ as long as possible ; we may chance to ruin some of them, befor^e
“ they can bring us to trial.

“ Yours, &c.

“ BELVILLE.

“ To Mr. Tho. Goofetree, attorney,
“ in Furnival's Inn.”

But, lest the endeavours of Mr. Goofetree should prove ineffectual, Belville, from the same principle of honor, resolved, at all events, to secure that sum collaterally, and therefore wrote the following letter to the first minister :

“ SIR,

“ I WAS applied to yesterday in your name by*** to vote for
“ the point, which is to come into our house to-morrow ; but,
“ as it was extremely contrary to my opinion and principles, I gave
“ him no explicit answer, but took some time to consider of it. I
“ have therefore the honor now to acquaint you, that I am deter-
“ mined to give my concurrence to this affair ; but must desire, at
“ the same time, that you will immediately send *** to me, with
“ the fifteen hundred pounds he offered me yesterday, and for which
“ I have a pressing occasion this morning. I am persuaded you
“ know me too well to scruple this payment beforehand, and that
“ you will not be the first person, that ever questioned the honor of,

“ SIR,

“ Your most faithful humble servant,

“ BELVILLE.

I find another letter of the same date, to a lady, who appears to be wife of his most intimate friend :

I

“ MY

" MY DEAR,

" I HAVE just now received yours, and am very sorry for the
 " uneasiness your husband's behaviour has given you of late ;
 " though I cannot be of your opinion, that he suspects our con-
 " nection. We have been bred up together from children, and have
 " lived in the strictest friendship ever since ; so that I dare say he
 " would as soon suspect me of a design to murder, as wrong him
 " this way. And you know it is to that confidence and security of
 " his, that I owe the happiness that I enjoy. However, in all events,
 " be convinced that you are in the hands of a man of honor, who
 " will not suffer you to be ill used ; and should my friend proceed to
 " any disagreeable extremities with you, depend upon it, I will
 " cut the cuckold's throat for him.

" Yours most tenderly."

The fourth and last letter is to a friend, who had, probably, as high notions of honor as himself, by the nature of the affair, in which he requires his assistance :

" DEAR CHARLES,

" PRYTHEE come to me immediately, to serve me in an affair
 " of honor. You must know, I told a damned lye last night
 " in a mixed company, and a formal odd dog, in a manner,
 " insinuated that I did so : upon which, I whispered him to be in
 " Hyde Park this morning, and to bring a friend with him, if he had
 " such a thing in the world. The booby was hardly worth my
 " resentment ; but you know my delicacy, where honor is con-
 " cerned.

" Yours,

" BELVILLE."

It appears from these authentic pieces, that Mr. Belville, filled with the noblest sentiments of honor, paid all debts but his just ones ;

ones ; kept his word scrupulously in the flagitious sale of his conscience to a minister ; was ready to protect, at the expence of his friend's life, his friend's wife, whom, by the opportunities that friendship had given him, he had corrupted ; and punished truth with death, when it intimated, however justly, the want of it in himself.

This person of refined honor, conscious of his own merit and virtue, is a most unmerciful censor of the lesser vices and failings of others ; and lavishly bestows the epithets of scoundrel and rascal upon all those, who, in a subordinate rank of life, seem to aspire to any genteel degree of immorality. An awkward country gentleman, who sells his silent vote cheap, is with him a bad dog. The industrious tradesmen are a pack of cheating rascals, who should be better regulated, and not suffered to impose upon people of condition ; and servants are a parcel of idle scoundrels, that ought to be used ill, and not paid their wages, in order to check their insolence.

It is not to be imagined how pernicious the example of such a creature is to society ; he is admired, and consequently imitated : he not only immediately corrupts his own circle of acquaintance, but the contagion spreads itself to infinity, as circles in water produce one another, though gradually less marked out, in proportion as they are remoter from the cause of the first.

To such practice and such examples in higher life, may justly be imputed the general corruption and immorality, which prevail through this kingdom. But, when such is the force of fashion, and when the examples of people of the first rank in a country are so prevalent as to dignify vice and immorality, in spite of all laws divine and human, how popular might they make virtue, if they would exert their power in its cause ? and how must they, in their cooler moments, reproach themselves, when they come to reflect, that, by their fatal examples, they have beggared, corrupted, and, it may be, enslaved, a whole nation ?

VIII.

C O M M O N S E N S E.

N° 16.

SATURDAY, May 14, 1737.

I HAVE lately read with great pleasure father Du Halde's account of China, where I have found several rules of morality and good government, which the politest nations in Europe might adopt with honor, and practise with advantage. Many of them are conveyed, according to the oriental custom, in allegories and fables, so that they strike one more sensibly, and imprint themselves deeper in the memory, by their connexion with some familiar image. Among others, I observed this remarkable one, which I shall now give my readers.

Hoan Kong asked his minister Koan Tchong, "What was the most to be feared in a government?" Koan Tchong answered, "In my mind, sir, nothing is more to be dreaded than what they call *the rat in the statue*." Hoan Kong not understanding the allegory, Koan Tchong explained it to him. "You know, sir, said he, that it is a common practice to erect statues to the genius of the place; these statues are of wood, hollow within, and painted without. If a rat gets into one of them, one does not know how to get him out: one does not care to make use of fire, for fear of burning the wood; one cannot dip it in water, for fear of washing off the colours; so that the regard one has for the statue, saves the rat that is got into it. Such, sir, are in every government those, *who, without virtue or merit, have gained the favour of their prince: they ruin every thing; one sees it, one laments it, but does not know how to remedy it.*"

I approve of the moral of the story, and am very much of Koan Tchong's mind, that nothing is to be dreaded more in a government, than this rat in the statue; but how he came to be of that mind himself, I cannot easily comprehend, for our author says he was

a minister, and consequently of the rat kind. But as he does not indeed say, that he was the first, or sole minister, I am inclined to think that he was only one of those, who have the name and salary of ministers, without any of the power, and who are often glad to give a slap by the bye, to the first minister, though they have not courage enough openly to attack him.

After this short remark, I return to the allegory itself, which I cannot say is so apt as I expected, from a people so much versed in that manner of instruction. The parallel drawn between the emperor, and a wooden statue is so disrespectful and uncourtly, that I could have wished our author had informed us, how his Chinese majesty had relished the similitude, that is, in case he took all the force of it; for, in reality, it was making no difference between an anointed head and a wooden one. A rat may very well eat his way into a statue unseen, unfelt, and unsmelt: but can a minister, especially such a one as is here described, without virtue or merit, nibble himself into a prince's favour, and the prince not smell a rat? It is impossible; and the bare supposition of it was highly injurious to his royal wisdom and penetration. I will admit, in favour of Koan Tchong, that the eastern monarchs have not that degree of sagacity, which so eminently distinguishes and adorns the European ones, and I will allow, that they are more likely to be surprized and imposed upon by the artifices of a designing minister; their indolent and retired way of life, soaking in the arms of their imperial comforts, or wantoning in the embraces of their concubines, not giving them the same opportunity of seeing, or being informed. But still, when this general rule is universally seen and lamented, as Koan Tchong expresses it, the unanimous voice, the just complaints, the groans, and the desolation, of a ruined and oppressed people, must reach, must affect, and must rouse his majesty, if he be but ever so little above a statue. If not, if such an impossibility could be supposed, I must then confess, that the allegory of the painted wood is so far just, as that the king's head would properly be *but the sign of the government*.

The conclusion Koan Tchong draws from this allegory is no less false and absurd; for, says he, when the rat is got into the statue,

one does not know how to get him out. One does not dare to make use of fire, for fear of burning the wood, one cannot dip it in water, for fear of washing off the colours : so that the regard one has for the statue, saves the rat that is got into it. This tender regard for the statue would, with all submission to Koan Tchong, in my opinion, much better have become an Hibernian courtier, than a Chinese one ; for it is saying in very good Irish, that the statue, from regard one has for it, shall be entirely devoured, for fear of being a little damaged or defaced. Whereas I should rather think, that the best way of shewing that regard for the statue would be, by saving as much as ever one could of it from the further depredations of the rat ; even though it were to cost a limb or two, as is frequently practised upon human bodies. But to do Koan Tchong justice, I do not impute his reasoning to want of parts ; I rather think it was a piece of ministerial logic, which has been used in other countries besides China. Here the minister breaks out, and the minister too, who seems to have no opinion of the distinguishing faculty of his prince, when he tries such a piece of sophistry upon him, which, I dare say, he would not have ventured in any other company. For he so closely connects the rat and the statue, and consequently, the king and the minister, that, in effect, he makes them but one flesh, and one would think they grew together like the two Hungarian girls* ; by this way of reasoning, whoever attacked this all-devouring rat, *alias* minister, was an enemy to the statue, *alias* king ; and, *vice versa*, those that were friends to rat and minister, were friends to statue and king.

This indissoluble union, would, I own, be most excellent doctrine for a minister to inculcate, could he find either king or nation weak enough to believe it ; but I can never imagine that any thing so absurd could be received by the Chinese, who are a wise and sensible people : at least, it could not extend itself beyond the walls of the palace.

Let us now consider the allegory literally. These sacred, painted, tawdry images, are erected to the genii of the place ; they are the

* Two Hungarian girls, that were shewn some years ago as a fine sight, and were fastened together by the rump.

productions of superstition, and, probably, the creatures of the bonzes, who dub them sacred, and exhibit them as representations, wooden ones, alas! of the divinity. Sacrilegious rats eat their way into them, and endanger their wooden existence. What is to be done? Why truly they are to devour with impunity, for fear the statue should receive some small damage in the rescue; as if there were not a thousand ways of coming at the rat, with little or no danger to the statue. For instance, shaking it soundly might probably make the dwelling of the rat so uneasy, that he might be willing to quit it, for fear of something worse afterwards.

There is another obvious expedient that occurs, which is that of sending a cat up after him: but to this, I own, I have some objection myself, because, though the cat would kill the rat, he would possibly remain in his place, and be as unwilling to quit it. But is it possible that the useful art of rat-catching should be unknown to so ingenious a people as the Chinese? If it is, I would advise our East-India company to send them a rat-catcher or two next voyage, for whom they might expect as considerable returns, and advantages, as Whittington is reported to have made by his cat. Though, I am very sorry to say it, the noble art and mystery of rat-catching has greatly declined even here of late; and I should be at a loss to find an honest and skilful artist to recommend to them.

But can one suppose, that the religion and piety of the bonzes would suffer them to remain indifferent spectators of such sacrilegious outrages; and that they, who can dislodge a devil, cannot get out a rat? Unless one has little charity enough to believe, that the bonzes, by a sort of commutation, are not unwilling to let the rats take sanctuary in their statues, to be rid of them themselves, and so, by an interested and impious connivance, give up their gods to save their bacon.

To come now to the allegorical sense, which Koan Tchong had such a mind to establish. A minister without virtue or merit gains the favour of his prince: he ruins every thing; one sees it, one laments it, but one does not know how to remedy it. To me the remedy seems very easy and obvious; take the minister away from him, and prevent the ruin, that threatened both him and his country.

I do not doubt, indeed, but the minister would, during the operation, cry out, like Koan Tchong; you attack the king, you deface the king, you wound the king through my sides, and would plead the king, as women do their bellies to respite execution: but, surely, upon examination, a degree of sagacity, much inferior to that of matrons, would be sufficient to bring him in not quick with king, but a distinct and separate body, easily removed, without the least danger to the sovereign.

Having fully discussed this allegory, I shall conclude with adopting one part of it, which is, that nothing is so much to be dreaded in a government, as a minister without virtue or merit, who gains the favour of his prince; but with entirely rejecting the latter part, that one fees and laments it, but, out of regard to the prince, one does not know to remedy it: since that very regard for the prince should excite one to endeavour it, and common sense points out the means of doing it, if there be but common honesty enough to put them in practice.

 IX *.

C O M M O N S E N S E.

SATURDAY, June 4, 1737.

N^o 19.

To the Author of COMMON SENSE.

— *Vocem Comœdia tollit.*

H O R.

Comedy lifts her voice.

S I R,

AS the cause of common sense and the stage are jointly concerned, some observations on the bill depending at present for the regulation of the latter cannot be thought improper for your paper;

* The act for licensing the theatres was attacked with great strength of reasoning by our nobleman in his famous speech on that subject, and with great humour and delicacy in this essay. But, notwithstanding his efforts, the bill was carried through both houses with an amazing rapidity, and received the royal assent the 21st of June 1737.

especially

especially since I believe it will appear by them to be ineffectual to the end proposed, and injurious to the poet, the player, and the public.

The end, proposed by this bill, is the regulation of theatrical entertainments, which, from their excess, fill both town and country with idleness and debauchery; and, from being under no restraint, exhibit to the public, encomiums on vice, and laugh away the sober principles of modesty and virtue.

A design of this kind is certainly worthy the care of the legislature; since every one, who thinks in the just mean between libertinism and severity, must be convinced that a well-governed stage is an ornament to the society, an encouragement to wit and learning, and a school of virtue and good manners; while a licentious one is the parent of loose desires, a nursery of vice, effeminacy, and irreligion.

But let us examine the present bill by the end proposed—

Will it tend to a regulation by decreasing the number?

I think it is plain, that it will have the contrary effect; since, while a discretionary power of licensing them remains in any one person whatsoever, a way is left open for APPLICATION, which, it cannot be thought, will be always unsuccessful. And I see no reason why it is not as well worth the charge of a ministry to send companies of strollers round to the corporations, to entertain them *gratis* with political plays before an election, as it has been to circulate political news-papers upon the like occasion. For it may very well be presumed, that Caleb* hanged in effigy, and dropping limb from limb like Harlequin, will conduce as much to render him unpopular in a country audience, as the wit and satire of a Gazetteer†. And no one can doubt, but that common sense will be exposed upon such stages, and ridiculed, for the diversion of a mayor and aldermen, with great success. Nor can this conjecture of mine be thought improbable, from any difficulty to supply such a number of infe-

* The Craftsman.

† The Daily Gazetteer was a title given very properly to certain papers, each of which lasted but a day. Into this, as a common sink, was received all the trash, which had been before dispersed in several journals, and circulated at the public expence of the nation. The authors were the same obscure men: though sometimes relieved by occasional essays from statesmen, courtiers, bishops, deans, and doctors. The meaner sort were rewarded with money; others with places or benefices, from an hundred to a thousand pounds a year. See the Dunciad, Book II.

rior play-houses with actors and poetry, since, in the present state of trade, the excise-officers may, at their leisure hours, supply the first, and the several ingenious authors of the Gazetteer's club *, for the other. The miraculous sir A. B. must have an excellent head for a political pantomime, and Mrs. Osborne herself can condescend to be waggish for the service of the government.

This scheme, in time, must affect the freedom of election, since a purse-proud court candidate might easily draw into his interest the governing part of most corporations, I mean, the women, by this terrible menace, "D--mn me, madam, if you do not make Mr. mayor " return me, you shall have no more plays, by G--d."

As it is plain therefore that this scheme must increase the number, will it produce any good effect by any restraint, that will probably be laid on the pieces performed?

The answer that will be given to this question is, that they must all undergo my lord chamberlain's inspection? Is then every lord chamberlain a wit and a critic, just as every merry Andrew is a physician, by his office? or is it reasonable to suppose that one man can peruse all the dramatic poetry that is produced in this scribbling kingdom of Great Britain; or even in that small retreat of the Muses, where most of these pieces are generated, and from whence, for the future, we must expect a supply? As this is in its nature impossible, my lord will probably delegate this authority to some of his domestics, the chaplain for tragedy; the cook, or the porter, may execute the office of comedy-inspector. And when that is the case, besides the abuse of justice, which is always seen in inferior jurisdictions, nobody can suppose these delegates can have equal taste in the politer studies, or be as good judges of wit and morality, as my lord himself; nor will they be inclined to men of merit in the profession of poetry, who are so little versed in the proper methods of making court to their superiors.

Besides, if the scheme above-mentioned is put into execution, wit and satire will be postponed for party reflection and abuse.

* Of these, Osborne and Arnall, mentioned above, p. 2, and p. 5, appear to have been the most respectable personages.

The comic glafs, inftead of expofing vice and folly, will be made a corrupt ufe of, to magnify the features of fome honeft country fquire in the oppofition, into a papift or a faracen, to the affright of himfelf and his neighbours ; while the curiofity of the vulgar, and the opportunities of indulging it at thefe entertainments, will ftill continue, and have the fame tendency to produce idlenefs and luxury as they have at prefent ; though it may be prefumed that the tafte for thefe entertainments will, by this method, gradually decay.

I think I have, by thefe few obfervations above, demonftrated that this bill cannot have its defired effect. I fhall now endeavour to prove that it will be injurious to the poet, the player, and the public in general.

It is very well known how difficult it is at prefent for merit, without intereft, to bring any play upon the ftage : and will the pride and felf-conceit of the manager be abated by this regulation ? or can a poet's temper be brought to fubmit to ftrike out whatever offends fo many critics, as will have a judicial authority to blot, by virtue of this act ? The neceffitous indeed will, perhaps, with reluctance, comply : but what can be expected from that band, who prefer folid pudding to empty praife ? Can it be thought that a man, who has fenfe and learning enough to write a play fit for the ftage, and who has ftood the judgment of a play-houfe monarch and his privy-council of critics, will be induced to cringe to a chaplain, a porter, a cook, or a fecretary ?

If I might prefume to fpeak my judgment, formed on experience, I fcarce believe he would fubmit to my lord himfelf.

Here then is a manifefit difcouragement to that fpecies of learning which inftructs youth, and delights in age ; which is an ornament to the man of fortune, a comfort and fupport of neceffity ; which entertains in the clofet, and diverts abroad ; fhortens the journey of the traveller, and is a chearful companion in folitude and exile *.

As this is a difcouragement to poetry, fo it lays fuch a reftRAINT on the actor, and fo fubjects him to the arbitrary will of an info-lent patentee, that few, I believe, will think it worth their while to leave the law, the counter, or Ireland itfelf, to get a poor tawdry fubfiftence on the ftage.

* Cicero, Orat. pro Archia Poëta.

If dramatic poesy is, under proper regulations, a benefit, the discouragement of it in general, which, from what has been observed above, will be effected by this act, must be injurious to the public; and if this bill should pass into a law, a Wicherley or Congreve will never rise again on the English stage: for there will be always fools enough to fill the licensed play-houses, that delight in farce, noise, and show; and while that is the case, no manager will run the hazard of endeavouring to refine the taste of the vulgar, by complying with that of the learned.

Besides the loss of the little wit still remaining among us, I am afraid that the swarm of insignificant mortals, who are now employed in the study of this kind of poetry, will, upon the disadvantage this bill will lay them under, desert this only fertile spot of Parnassus, and join in an insurrection with the distillers*, or turn from robbing the dead to the plunder of the living.

I need not here mention the infringement attempted by this act on the liberty of the press.

But if, notwithstanding these few hasty objections, the wisdom of the legislature should think proper to pass this bill, I would beg leave to submit the two following amendments to their consideration.

First, that the strolling companies, licensed, be restrained to some particular number, and not be permitted to act in any borough or corporation.

Secondly, since wit and modesty, morality and religion, ought chiefly to be regarded in these entertainments, that every thing destructive of either may be sure to be expunged: and since the fair sex have lately shewn so laudable a zeal for wit, that they may have a share in the administration of it.

I propose that the lord chamberlain's power, given by this act, be transferred to a committee of the maids of honor and bishops,

* The act, for restraining the sale of spirituous liquors in small quantities, had failed of its effect. The informers, who dared to give intelligence against offenders, were so roughly treated by the populace, and so ill protected by the ministry, that the abuse became intolerable. It was so manifestly the interest of the distillers to defeat the bill, that they were supposed to have had a hand in these insurrections; and the noble author of this essay humorously hints, that writers of plays, being now disappointed, for want of proper licences, in their retail of wit, would suffer themselves to be employed by the composers, retailers, or consumers of liquors, to join in these riots, and perhaps take to the road.

who

who shall act in joint commission in this important affair; since the first are the best judges of wit and modesty, the latter of morality and religion, in this kingdom.

Yours,

A. Z.

X.

C O M M O N S E N S E.

S A T U R D A Y, July, 16 1737. N^o. 25.

IT is the complaint of most men, who have lived any time in the world, that the present age is much degenerated in its morals within the memory of man. I am afraid this complaint is not altogether without foundation. That there has been a gradual decay of public spirit for some years, cannot be denied; and which owes its original, if I am not very much mistaken, to our party divisions.

There is a particular maxim among parties, which alone is sufficient to corrupt a whole nation; which is, to countenance and protect the most infamous fellows, who happen to herd amongst them. There is no man, let his private character be ever so scandalous, that can be of some use to serve a turn, but immediately grows to be a man of consequence with his party.

It is something shocking to common sense, to see the man of honor and the knave, the man of parts and the blockhead, put upon an equal foot; which is often the case amongst parties. In the struggles that happen about elections, when some candidate of a fair character has been set up on one side, how often have you seen the most abandoned knave of the other party put up to oppose him, and both supported with equal zeal! Parties will always find something or other, in the worst of men, to reconcile them to the obnoxious parts of their characters. He that has sense enough to distinguish right from wrong, can make a noise; nay, the less sense, the more obstinacy, especially in a bad cause, and the greater knave, the more obedient to his leaders, especially when they are playing the rogue. These are the best tools, and such are the qualities necessary

for putting in execution the bad measures, which the corrupt leaders of parties intend to carry on, if they are uppermost.

Party zeal changes the name of things ; black is white, vice is virtue, a bribe in an office is called a perquisite, and the most studied and concerted fraud, that can enter into the head of the most thorough-paced knave, shall be voted a little negligence. In fine, party merit takes away all blots and stains out of the blackest characters ; and he that deserves to be hanged, by all laws human and divine, for his conduct in private life, may, at the same time, be an angel with his party.

Mendax, while he held an office in the state, is detected in a little mean fraud, for Mendax was of a complexion so delicate, and had something in his conscience so scrupulously nice, that he fancied he wronged his family, if he did not play the rogue whenever any thing was to be got by it ; but, however, Mendax, in a public capacity, has been always true to the troop. The chiefs of the party having met, to consider how to behave with respect to Mendax in this critical juncture, all the men of honor amongst them were for giving him up, and even joining in any punishment that might be laid upon him, in order to convince the world, that they would not protect the man that had wronged his country ; but a veteran, who was grown old in all the iniquitous practices of party, and who had acquired authority by his experience, was quite of another opinion. " Mendax," says he, " has always been an active member of the cause : " and what have we do with his morals, or his honor ? " adding, " The man that is true to the troop must always be screened, let him be guilty of what he will."

Thus, by the detestable politics of party, Mendax was countenanced and caressed under the infamy of a most scandalous fraud ; and lived to do his country more mischief, by the corruption which he afterwards spread through it, than a famine, a plague, or a war, could have done.

If we look back into the history of a few years past, we shall find that the immense estates that have been made, by the numerous fraudulent projects with which this virtuous age has abounded, have been by persons who pretended to be zealous party men, and have gone great lengths in party : nay, some have been so cunning as to shift sides, and go over to the strongest, just before they have resolved

to strike some bold stroke, wisely securing a good retreat before they enter upon action; so that I have often thought, that a strong party is the same thing to a cheat, that a strong island in the West-Indies is to a pirate, a place of safety to lay up all he has stolen.

As I have intitled my paper, Common Sense, the public may depend upon it, that I shall not write the sense of a party, because common sense must be free from all prejudice, and party sense is observed to be rarely so. I will farther add, that I take common sense and common honesty to be so near akin, that, whenever I see a man turn knave, I shall not stick to pronounce him a fool. I have the experience of the times in which I have lived, to justify me in this opinion. I never knew a man, that set out with good principles, and afterwards became a prostitute to men in power, but some creature of a little, narrow, mean understanding. A piece of ribbon, or a word added to a name, shall reconcile a fool to the most destructive measures, that the most corrupt minister or ministers can enter upon: but common sense has some modesty; it has a sense of shame, and cannot act in direct opposition to truth and honor.

But I am farther of opinion, that, if a writer should at this time expect to make his way in the world, and to become popular, by running violently into all the prejudices of a party, he would meet with a reception from the public, very different from what he expected. Party prejudice is not the same thing it was. The malignity of the distemper is worn out; and it must be a singular pleasure to a man who loves his country, to find that those two odious distinctions of Whig and Tory, with which we formerly reproached one another, are used no more. All men unplaced, and unpensioned, talk and think alike; and we see gentlemen, who were bred up in opposite principles, and, though in other respects men of honor, had imbibed all the prejudices of their respective parties, now meet and shake hands, and, upon comparing notes, wonder that they had ever differed: and what makes it more extraordinary, is that all this should happen without their being reproached, either by their country, or their particular friends, of changing their principles; which shews there is something in an honest and an upright conduct,

conduct, that will carry it through the world, and support it against all the suggestions that calumny can invent.

I will not say, that it is prosperity that has wrought this great change. I am afraid this union of minds is not owing to a universal content of the nation: the causes of it are too well known to need any explanation; but, be it as it will, it is certain that the cure of any grievances that may fall upon us can come from nothing else but this union. This is not only my opinion; it is certainly the opinion of those whose safety, next to the corruption of the times, depends upon our divisions.

When a nation is divided against itself, how great must be the providence that must save it from sinking! When the people are broken into parties and factions, worrying and reviling one another, what a fine harvest it yields to the common enemy! If I should be asked, who is that common enemy? I shall only answer, that there are banditti in time of peace as well as in time of war; there are freebooters, who are not regularly lifted on either side, and who, while both sides are engaged against each other, will certainly plunder the nation.

I will only say, beware of those, who are labouring to keep alive the animosities of party: it is true, they have laboured in vain, and Providence has so confounded their devices, that they have united us by the very methods they took to keep us asunder; but they have not yet given up the game for lost. They are continually throwing out bones of contention; they are raking up the dying embers of party, in hopes of kindling a new flame.

There is a set of men, who are governed by no principles, and have no friends or followers, but such as are attached to them for mercenary ends. These assume to themselves the name of a party, though they do not carry so much as the appearance of it: it is they, who are for fomenting divisions, in hopes that, when the madness of party shall again seize the people, both sides will by turns fall in with them, in order to be revenged and undo each other, which will save a great deal in bribes; a method of doing business, which must have an end, when there is no money left in the nation. But it happens, that they have been so awkward in concealing their foul play,

play, that all the world has seen through it ; and it looks as if Providence had infatuated their cunning, with a kind intention of putting us upon our guard, and of rousing that antient spirit of our people, which has preserved this nation, when any incroachments have been made upon its liberties.

But though there may be no dangerous designs at present, and the whole body of the people may entertain the same opinion of the good intentions and of the great abilities of our present set of ministers as they really merit, yet it is not amiss to have our eyes about us. Political jealousy is inseparable from the minds of good patriots ; it is their duty to be watchful for the public, and suspicious of the designs of men in power. A certain degree of this jealousy is absolutely necessary to be kept up at all times, for the preservation of liberty. This jealousy, I say, is our great security ; and it cannot decay till public spirit decays.

The individuals of that great body called *the people* are so taken up with their several avocations, that they are not always at leisure to examine well the designs of men in power, and to see through those disguises, which they endeavour to throw over bad measures ; therefore it is the duty of every private man to give the alarm whenever he perceives any thing doing, which must have a tendency to alter and impair that plan of government, under which we and our ancestors have lived free.—And this we propose shall be partly the business of this paper.

The adversaries, that in all probability will oppose us in this design, are not much to be feared. That paper, which is looked upon as the work of the greatest wits, and most profound politicians of the faction, for they are not to be called a party, might be excelled by the lowest productions in Grub-street ; yet here you see all the good sense that is amongst them, and it would be reason enough for making the people uneasy, if they should have a notion that the public affairs were to be managed by such hands as publish the most idle, the most inconsistent, and most slavish schemes of politics, that the world ever saw.

I cannot help thinking, that they have taken up a notion, that the only qualification of a political writer is a hardy and intrepid manner

manner of asserting what is not, and of denying what is. As to their profligate manner of endeavouring to turn public spirit into ridicule, they have done it with so little wit, that they have not been able to gain the very laughers on their side. Thanks be to their dullness, it rises against their opposition: he that laughs with them, must laugh without a jest, and therefore, as often as I saw my predecessors employ their wit against those who never used that weapon against them, I own I did not look upon it as very generous in them; methinks, if I were master of that weapon called wit, I should be as much ashamed of drawing it against an Osborne, or a Walsingham, as I should of drawing a sword against a naked man.

Upon the whole, though I have promised never to be dull with design, yet I would not have the public expect much from me at such times as I shall be drawn into a dispute with that paper, which has a mob of Swift's writers to support it; it is a Briareus with an hundred hands, but not one head: and as there is neither conduct, nor order, nor discipline, nor honor amongst them, they will be as easily defeated as any other rabble.

 XI.

C O M M O N S E N S E.

 SATURDAY, August 20, 1737. N^o 30.

THOUGH the separation of the parliament generally suspends the vigor of political altercations, I doubt it creates domestic ones, not less sharp and acrimonious; and, possibly, the individuals of both houses may find as warm debates at home, as any they have met with during the course of the session.

Their motion for adjourning into the country is, I believe, seldom seconded by their wives and daughters; and if at last they carry it, it is more by the exertion of their authority, than by the cogency of their reasoning.

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This act of power so strenuously withstood at first, and so unwillingly submitted to at last, lays but an indifferent foundation of domestic harmony during their retirement; and I am surprized that the throne, which never fails, at the end of the session, to recommend to both houses certain wholesome and general rules for their behaviour and conduct, when scattered in their respective counties, should hitherto have taken no notice of their ladies, nor have made them the least excuse for the disagreeable consequences, which result to them from the recess. Nay even in the female reigns of queen Elizabeth and queen Anne, I cannot discover that any advice, or application of this nature, has ever been directed to the fair sex; as if their uneasiness and dissatisfaction were matters of no concern to the peace and good order of the kingdom in general.

For my own part, I see this affair in a very different light, and I think I shall do both my country and the ministry good service, if, by any advice and consolation I can offer to my fair countrywomen, in this their dreadful time of trouble and trial, I can alleviate their misfortunes, and mitigate the horrors of their retirement; since it is obvious, that the people in the country, who see things but at a distance, will never believe that matters go right, when they observe a general discontent in every one but the master of the family, whose particular tranquillity they may, possibly, ascribe to particular reasons, and not to the happy state of the public. Besides that, my real concern and regard for the fair sex, excites my compassion for them; and I sympathize with them in that scene of grief and despair, which the prospect of their six months exile presents to them.

I own I have been so sensibly touched, as I have gone along the streets, to see, at the one pair of stairs windows, so many fine eyes bathed in tears, and dismally fixed upon the fatal waggons loading at their doors, that I resolved, my endeavours should not be wanting to administer to them whatever amusement or comfort I could think of, under their present calamity.

The antient philosophers have left us most excellent rules for our conduct, under the various afflictions to which we are liable. They bid us not be grieved at misfortunes, nor pleased with prosperity;

and undeniably prove, that those imaginary ills of old age, sickness, the loss of friends, fortune, &c. would really not be ills, if we were but wise enough not to be affected by them. But I have no where found, in their writings, any consolation offered to the fair sex, to support and strengthen them under the rigors of a country life. Whether this barbarous custom of confining the ladies half the year in the country was not practised among the ancients, whether the case was not looked upon as above comfort or below attention, or whether the Goths and Vandals may not have deprived the learned world of those valuable treatises, I cannot tell : but this is certain, that I know no case of greater compassion, and few of greater consequence, than that of a fine woman, hurried, not only by her husband, but *with* her husband, from all the joys of London to all the horrors of the mansion-seat in the country ; where, not to mention many other circumstances of this tyranny, in one particular, I fear it too often resembles the Mezentian cruelty of tying a living body to a dead one.

I first address myself to those ladies, whose distinguished beauty, delicacy, and accomplishments, justly place them at the head of the pleasures and fashion of the town. Their will is the law, and their example the model, of the polite world : possessed, one half of the year, of more than imperial sway, the other half, they groan under the usurped power of their husbands. Nay, even the superior beauty of many ladies, like the superior merit of many illustrious Athenians, has often both caused and prolonged their exile. Can kings deposed and imprisoned experience a more cruel reverse of fortune than this ? Their case is certainly above comfort ; and I own I am at a loss what to recommend to them. *Succedanea* there are none ; I shall only endeavour to suggest lenitives.

I am not absurd enough, even to hint the usual rural recreations, of fetching a walk, a horse-race, an affize ball, or a fillabub under the red cow, which must all of them be exceedingly shocking to their delicacy. Besides, I know, that, at their first arrival in the country, they entirely give up all hopes, not only of pleasure, but of comfort, and, from a just contempt of whatever they are to see or hear, plunge themselves

themselves at once into an awful melancholy, and a fullen despair, like captive princeſſes in a tragedy.

I wiſh I could procure them a fix months ſleep or annihilation ; but, as that is not in my power, the beſt advice I can give them, is to carry down a provision of the tendereſt books, which will at once improve their ſtyle, nourish all the delicacy of their ſentiments, and keep imagination awake.

The moſt voluminous romances are the moſt ſerviceable, and wear the beſt in the country, ſince four or five of them will very near hold out the ſeaſon. Beſides that, the pleaſing deſcriptions of the flowery vales, where the tender heroines ſo often bewailed the abſence of their much-loved heroes, may, by the help of a little imagination and an elegant ſympathy, render the ſolitary proſpect of the neighbouring fields a little more ſupportable.

This ſerious ſtudy may ſometimes be diverſified by ſhort and practical novels, of which the French language furniſhes great abundance. Here the catastrophe comes ſooner, and nature has its ſhare, as well as ſentiments ; ſo that a lady may exactly fit the humour ſhe happens to be in.

If a gentle languor only inſpires tender ſentiments, ſhe may find, in the cleareſt light, whatever can be ſaid upon *le cœur & l'eſprit*, (the heart and the mind), to indulge thoſe thoughts ; or, if intruding nature breaks in with warmer images, ſhe will likewiſe find in thoſe excellent manuals, ſuitable and correſponding paſſages. The pleaſing tumult of the ſenſes, the ſoft annihilation, and the expiring ſighs of the diſſolving happy pair, may agreeably recal the memory of certain tranſactions in the foregoing winter, or anticipate the expected joys of the enſuing one.

Some time too may be employed in epiſtolatory correſpondence with diſtreſſed, ſympathizing, friends in the ſame ſituation, pathetically deſcribing all the diſagreeable circumſtances of the country ; with this juſt exception only, “ that one could bear with it well. “ enough for two or three months in the ſummer, with the company one liked, and without the company one diſliked.”

As for the more ſecret and tender letters, which are to go under two or three directions, and as many covers, the uppermoſt to be

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directed by trusty Betty, and by her given into the postman's own hand, they of course furnish out the most pleasing moments of the confinement ; and I dare say, I need neither recommend them, nor the attentive and frequent perusal of the answers returned to them.

But, as these occupations will necessarily meet with some interruption, and as there will be intervals in the day, when thoughts will claim their share, as at dinner with my lord or his neighbours, or on Sundays at church, I advise that they should be turned as much as possible from the many disagreeable, to the few agreeable prospects, which the country affords.

Let them reflect, that these absences, however painful for the time, revive and animate passions, which, without some little cessation, might decay and grow languid. Let them consider, how propitious the chapter of accidents is to them in the country, and what charming events they may reasonably flatter themselves with, from the effusion of strong beer and port, and the friendly interposition of hedges, ditches, and five-barred gates : not to mention another possible contingency, of their husbands meeting with Acteon's fate from their own hounds, which, whether probable or not, they know best.

With these prospects, and these dissipations, I should hope they may pass, or rather kill, the tedious time of their banishment, without very great anxiety ; but, if that cannot be, there is but one expedient more which occurs to me, and which I have often known practised with success, that is, the colic, and pains of the stomach, to such a degree, as absolutely to require the assistance of the Bath. The colic, in the stomach I mean, is a clean genteel distemper, and by no means below women of the first condition, and they should always keep it by them, to be used as occasion requires ; for as its diagnostics are neither visible nor certain, it is pleadable against husband, neighbours, and relations, without any possibility of being traversed.

As for those ladies, who move but in a second sphere in town, their case is far from being so compassionate, their fall from London to the country being by no means so considerable ; nay, in some particulars, I am not sure if they are not gainers by it. For they are

indisputably in the country, what they never are in town, the first. They give currency to fashions and expressions; they are stared at, admired, and consulted; and the female district forms itself upon their model. They are likewise of a more accommodating temper, and can let themselves down to country recreations; they do not disdain the neighbouring assembly, nor the captain of dragoons who commands at it. They can swallow a glass of red wine and a macaroon, in the evening, when hospitably tendered them by the squire's lady, or the parson's wife; and, upon a pinch, can make up a country dance at night, with the help of the butler, the house-keeper, and a couple of chairs.

It is true, these are but condescensions too, which they would be horribly ashamed of, should they be detected in the fact by any of their London acquaintance; but still, with these helps, the summer goes off tolerably well, till bad roads, bad weather, and long evenings, change the scene. Then comes the dire domestic struggle: the lady exposes with satire and contempt the rustic pleasures, that detain them in the country; the husband retorts the pleasures of a different nature, which, he conceives, invite her ladyship up to town: warmth ensues, the lady grows eloquent, the husband coarse, and from that time, till the day is fixed for going to London, peace is banished the family.

The Bath would be of sovereign efficacy in this case too, and, like the waters of Lethé, would wash away the remembrance of these disagreeable incidents; but, if that cannot be compassed, the last resort I can recommend to these ladies is, by the alternate and proper use of clamor and fullness, invectives and tears, to reduce their husbands to seek for quiet in town.

How useful these my endeavours for the service of my fair countrywomen may prove, I cannot pretend to say; but I hope, at least, they will be acceptable to them, and that, in return for my good intentions, they will admit my paper, with their tea tables, to dissipate some of the tedious moments of their retirement.

XII.

C O M M O N S E N S E.

SATURDAY, Sept. 3, 1737.

N^o 32.

MONSIEUR de la Rochefoucault very justly observes, that people are never ridiculous from their real, but from their affected, characters; they cannot help being what they are, but they can help attempting to appear what they are not. A hump-back is by no means ridiculous, unless it be under a fine coat; nor a weak understanding, unless it assumes the lustre and ornaments of a bright one. Good-nature conceals and pities the inevitable defects of body or mind, but is not obliged to treat acquired ones with the least indulgence. Those who would pass upon the world talents which they have not, are as guilty in the common course of society, as those who, in the way of trade, would put off false money, knowing it to be such; and it is as much the business of ridicule to expose the former, as of the law to punish the latter.

I do not here mean to consider the affectation of moral virtues, which comes more properly under the definition of hypocrisy, and justly excites our indignation and abhorrence, as a criminal deceit; but I shall confine myself now to the affectation of those lesser talents and accomplishments, without any of which a man may be a very worthy valuable man, and only becomes a very ridiculous one by pretending to them. Those people are the proper, and, it may be, the only proper objects of ridicule; for they are above fools, who are below it, and below wise men, who are above it. They are the coxcombs lord Rochester describes as self-created, and of whom he says, that God never made one worth a groat. Besides, as they are rebels and traitors to common sense, whose natural-born subjects they are, I am justified in treating them with the utmost rigor.

I cannot be of the general opinion, that these coxcombs have first imposed upon themselves, and really think themselves what they
would

would have others think them. On the contrary, I am persuaded that every man knows himself best, and is his own severest censor; nay, I am convinced that many a man has lived and died with faults and weaknesses, which nobody but himself ever discovered. It is true, they keep their own secrets inviolate, which makes people believe they have not found it out. Why do we discern the failings of our friends sooner and better than we do other people's, but because we interest ourselves more in them? By the same rule, we feel our own still sooner. And possibly, in this case alone, we are kinder to our friends than to ourselves; since I very much question if a man would love his friend so well if he were faultless, and he would certainly like himself the better for being so. If this supposition be true, as I think it is, my coxcombs are both the more guilty, and the more ridiculous, as they live in a constant course of practical lying, and in the absurd and sanguine hopes of passing undetected.

Fatuus, the most consummate coxcomb of this or any other age or country, has parts enough to have excelled in almost any one thing he would have applied himself to. But he must excel in all. He must be at once a wit, a lover, a scholar, and a statesman; yet, conscious of the impracticability of the undertaking, he parcels out his accomplishments, and compounds to have the several branches of his merit admired in separate districts.

Hence, he talks politics to his women, wit to ministers of state, displays his learning to beaux, and brags of his success in gallantry to his country neighbours. His caution is a proof of his guilt, and shews that he does not deceive himself, but only hopes to impose upon others. Fatuus's parts have undone him, and brought him to a bankruptcy of common sense and judgment; as many have been ruined by great estates, which led them into expences they were not able to support.

There are few so universal coxcombs as Fatuus, to whom I therefore gave the post of honor; but infinite are the numbers of minor coxcombs, who are coxcombs *quoad hoc*, and who have singled out certain accomplishments, which they are resolved to possess in spite of reluctant nature. Their most general attempts are at wit and
women

women, as the two most shining and glittering talents in the *beau monde*.

Thus Protervus, who has a good serious understanding, contrives to pass almost for a fool, because he will be a wit. He must shine; he admires and pursues the lustre of wit, which, like an *ignis fatuus*, leads him out of his way into all sorts of absurdities. He is awkwardly pert; he puns, twists words, inverts sentences, and retails in one company the scraps he has picked up in another; but still, conscious of his own insufficiency, he cautiously seeks to shine, where he hopes he may dazzle, and prudently declines the encounter of the strongest eyes. How often have I seen his unnatural alacrity suddenly confounded, and shrinking into silence, at the appearance of somebody of avowed and unquestioned wit!

Ponderosus has a slow laborious understanding, a good memory, and, with application, might succeed in business; but truly he must be a fine man, and succeed with women. He exposes his clumsy figure by adorning it, makes declaration of love with all the form and solemnity of a proclamation, and ridiculously consumes in revels the time he might usefully employ at the desk. He cannot be ignorant of his ill success; he feels it, but endeavours to impose upon the world, by hinting, in one set of company, his successes in another; and by whispering, in public places, with an air of familiarity, such indifferent trifles, as would not justify the woman in refusing to hear them. But how have I seen him skulk at the approach of the real favourite, and betray his consciousness of his affected character! Be it known to Ponderosus, and all those of his turn, that this vanity, besides the absurdity of it, leads them into a most immoral attempt; and that this practical defamation of a woman more justly deserves an action at law, than a coarse word rashly uttered.

Garrulus hopes to pass for an orator, without either words or matter; it is plain he knows his own poverty, by his laborious robbery of authors. He passes the nights in book-breaking, and puts off in the day-time the stolen goods as his own; but so awkwardly and unskilfully, that they are always brought back to their true owners.

Bavius,

Bavius, ballasted with all the lead of a German, will rise into poetry, without either ear or invention : he recites, what he calls his verses, to his female relations, and his city acquaintance, but never mentions them to Pope.

Perplexus insists upon being a man of business, and, though formed, at best, for a letter-carrier, will be a letter-writer ; but, conscious that he can neither be necessary nor useful, endeavours to be tolerated by an implicit conformity to men and times.

In short, there are as many species of coxcombs, as there are desirable qualifications and accomplishments in life ; and it would be endless to give instances of every particular vanity and affectation, by which men either make themselves ridiculous, or, at least, depreciate the other qualities they really possess. Every one's observation will furnish him with examples enough of this kind. But I will now endeavour to point out the means of avoiding these errors ; though, indeed, they are so obvious in themselves, that one should think it unnecessary, if one did not daily experience the contrary.

It is very certain, that no man is fit for every thing ; but it is almost as certain too, that there is scarce any one man, who is not fit for something, which something nature plainly points out to him, by giving him a tendency and propensity to it. I look upon common sense to be to the mind, what conscience is to the heart, the faithful and constant monitor of what is right or wrong. And I am convinced that no man commits either a crime or a folly, but against the manifest and sensible representations of the one or the other. Every man finds in himself, either from nature or education, for they are hard to distinguish, a peculiar bent and disposition to some particular character ; and his struggling against it is the fruitless and endless labor of Sisyphus. Let him follow and cultivate that vocation, he will succeed in it, and be considerable in one way at least : whereas, if he departs from it, he will at best be inconsiderable, probably ridiculous. Mankind, in general, have not the indulgence and good-nature to save a whole city for the sake of five righteous, but are more inclined to condemn many righteous for the sake of a few guilty. And a man may easily sink many virtues by the weight of one folly, but will hardly be able to protect many

follies by the force of one virtue. The players, who get their parts by heart, and are to simulate but for three hours, have a regard, in choosin^g those parts, to the natural bent of their genius. Penkethman never acted Cato, nor Booth Scrub ; their invincible unfitness for those characters would inevitably have broke out, in the short time of their representation. How then shall a man hope to act with success all his life long a borrowed and ill-suited character ? In my mind, Pinkey got more credit by acting Scrub well, than he would have got by acting Cato ill ; and I would much rather be an excellent shoemaker, than a ridiculous and inept minister of state. I greatly admire our industrious neighbours, the Germans, for many things, but for nothing more, than their steady adherence to the voice of nature : they indefatigably pursue the way she has chalked out to them, and never deviate into any irregularities of character. Thus many of the first rank, if happily turned to mechanics, have employed their whole lives in the incatenation of fleas, or the curious sculpture of cherry-stones ; while others, whose thirst of knowledge leads them to investigate the secrets of nature, spend years in their elaboratory, in pursuit of the philosopher's stone : but none, that I have heard of, ever deviated into an attempt at wit. Nay, even due care is taken in the education of their princes, that they may be fit for something, for they are always instructed in some other trade besides that of government ; so that, if their genius does not lead them to be able princes, it is ten to one but they are excellent turners.

I will conclude my remonstrance to the coxcombs of Great Britain with this admonition and engagement, that "they disband their affectations, and common sense shall be their friend." Otherwise I shall proceed to further extremities, and single out, from time to time, the most daring offenders.

I must observe, that the word *coxcomb* is of the common gender, both masculine and feminine, and that the male coxcombs are equalled in number by the female ones, who shall be the subject of my next paper.

XIII.

COMMON SENSE.

SATURDAY, Sept. 10, 1737.

No 33.

HAVING, in my former paper, censured, with freedom, the affectations and follies of my own sex, I flatter myself, that I shall meet with the indulgence of the ladies, while I consider, with the same impartiality, those weaknesses and vanities, to which their sex is as liable as ours, and, if I dare say so, rather more, as their sphere of action is more bounded and circumscribed. Man's province is universal, and comprehends every thing, from the culture of the earth, to the government of it; men only become coxcombs, by assuming particular characters, for which they are particularly unfit, though others may shine in those very characters. But the case of the fair sex is quite different; for there are many characters, which are not of the feminine gender, and, consequently, there may be two kinds of women coxcombs; those who affect what does not fall within their department, and those who go out of their own natural characters, though they keep within the female province.

I should be very sorry to offend, where I only mean to advise and reform; I therefore hope the fair sex will pardon me, when I give ours this preference. Let them reflect, that each sex has its distinguishing characteristic: and if they can with justice, as certainly they may, brand a man with the name of a cott-quean, if he invades a certain female detail, which is unquestionably their prerogative, may not we, with equal justice, retort upon them, when, laying aside their natural characters, they assume those which are appropriated to us? The delicacy of their texture, and the strength of ours, the beauty of their form, and the coarseness of ours, sufficiently indicate the respective vocations. Was Hercules ridiculous and contemptible with his distaff? Omphale would not have been less so at a review or a council-board. Women are not formed for

great cares themselves, but to sooth and soften ours : their tenderness is the proper reward for the toils we undergo for their preservation, and the ease and chearfulness of their conversation, our desirable retreat from the labors of study and business. They are confined within the narrow limits of domestic offices ; and when they stray beyond them, they move excentrically, and consequently without grace.

Agrippina, born with an understanding and dispositions, which could, at best, have qualified her for the sordid help-mate of a pawnbroker or usurer, pretends to all the accomplishments that ever adorned man or woman, without the possession, or even the true knowledge, of any one of them. She would appear learned, and has just enough of all things, without comprehending any one, to make her talk absurdly upon every thing. She looks upon the art of pleasing as her master-piece, but mistakes the means so much, that her flattery is too gross for self-love to swallow, and her lies too palpable to deceive for a moment ; so that she shocks those she would gain. Mean tricks, shallow cunning, and breach of faith, constitute her mistaken system of politics. She endeavours to appear generous at the expence of trifles, while an indiscreet and unguarded rapaciousness discovers her natural and insatiable avidity. Thus mistaking the perfections she would seem to possess, and the means of acquiring even them, she becomes the most ridiculous, instead of the most complete, of her sex.

Eudofia, the most frivolous woman in the world, condemns her own sex for being too trifling. She despises the agreeable levity and chearfulness of a mixed company ; she will be serious, that she will, and emphatically intimates, that she thinks reason and good sense very valuable things. She never mixes in the general conversation, but singles out some one man, whom she thinks worthy of her good sense, and in a half voice, or *sotto voce*, discusses her solid trifles in his ear, dwells particularly upon the most trifling circumstances of the main trifle, which she enforces with the proper inclinations of head and body, and with the most expressive gesticulations of the fan, modestly confessing every now and then, by way of parenthesis, that possibly it may be thought presumption in a

woman

woman to talk at all upon those matters. In the mean time, her unhappy hearer stifles a thousand gapes, assents universally to whatever she says, in hopes of shortning the conversation, and carefully watches the first favourable opportunity, which any motion in the company gives him, of making his escape from this excellent solid understanding. Thus deserted, but not discouraged, she takes the whole company in their turns, and has, for every one, a whisper of equal importance. If Eudofia would content herself with her natural talents, play at cards, make tea and visits, talk to her dog often, and to her company but sometimes, she would not be ridiculous, but bear a very tolerable part in the polite world.

Sydaria had beauty enough to have excused, while young, her want of common sense. But she scorned the fortuitous and precarious triumphs of beauty. She would only conquer by the charms of her mind. A union of hearts, a delicacy of sentiments, a mental adoration, or a sort of tender quietism, were what she long fought for, and never found. Thus nature struggled with sentiment till she was five and forty, but then got the better of it to such a degree, that she made very advantageous proposals to an Irish ensign of one and twenty : equally ridiculous in her age and in her youth.

Canidia, withered by age, and shattered by infirmities, totters under the load of her misplaced ornaments, and her dress varies according to the freshest advices from Paris, instead of conforming itself, as it ought, to the directions of her undertaker. Her mind, as weak as her body, is absurdly adorned : she talks politics and metaphysics, mangles the terms of each, and, if there be sense in either, most infallibly puzzles it ; adding intricacy to politics, and darkness to mysteries, equally ridiculous in this world and the next.

I shall not now enter into an examination of the lesser affectations ; (most of them are pardonable, and many of them are pretty, if their owners are so) ; but confine my present animadversions to the affectations of ill-suited characters, for I would by no means deprive my fair countrywomen of their genteel little terrors, antipathies, and affections. The alternate panicks of thieves, spiders, ghosts, and thunder, are allowable to youth and beauty, provided they do not survive them. But, what I mean is, to prevail with them to act
their

their own natural parts, and not other peoples; and to convince them, that even their own imperfections will become them better than the borrowed perfections of others.

Should some lady of spirit, unjustly offended at these restrictions, ask what province I leave to their sex? I answer, that I leave them whatever has not been peculiarly assigned by nature to ours. I leave them a mighty empire, Love. There they reign absolute, and by unquestioned right, while beauty supports their throne. They have all the talents requisite for that soft empire, and the ablest of our sex cannot contend with them in the profound knowledge and conduct of those *arcana*. But then, those who are deposed by years or accidents, or those, who by nature were never qualified to reign, should content themselves with the private care and œconomy of their families, and the diligent discharge of domestic duties.

I take the fabulous birth of Minerva, the goddess of arms, wisdom, arts, and sciences, to have been an allegory of the antients, calculated to shew, that women of natural and usual births must not aim at those accomplishments. She sprang armed out of Jupiter's head, without the co-operation of his consort Juno; and, as such only, had those great provinces assigned her.

I confess, one has read of ladies, such as Semiramis, Thalestris, and others, who have made very considerable figures in the most heroic and manly parts of life; but, considering the great antiquity of those histories, and how much they are mixed up with fables, one is at liberty to question either the facts, or the sex. Besides that, the most ingenious and erudite Conrad Wolfgang Laboriosus Nugatorius, of Hall in Saxony, has proved to a demonstration, in the 14th volume, page 2981, of his learned treatise *De Hermaphroditis*, that all the reputed female heroes of antiquity were of this Epicene species, though, out of regard to the fair and modest part of my readers, I dare not quote the several facts and reasonings with which he supports this assertion; and as for the heroines of modern date, we have more than suspicions of their being at least of the epicene gender. The greatest monarch that ever filled the British throne, till very lately, was queen Elizabeth, of whose sex we have abundant reason to doubt, history furnishing us with many instances of
the

the manhood of that princess, without leaving us one single symptom or indication of the woman ; and thus much is certain, that she thought it improper for her to marry a man. The great Christina, queen of Sweden, was allowed by every body to be above her sex, and the masculine was so predominant in her composition, that she even conformed, at last, to its dress, and ended her days in Italy. I therefore require that those women, who insist upon going beyond the bounds allotted to their sex, should previously declare themselves in form hermaphrodites, and be registered as such in their several parishes ; till when, I shall not suffer them to confound politics, perplex metaphysics, and darken mysteries.

How amiable may a woman be, what a comfort and delight to her acquaintance, her friends, her relations, her lover, or her husband, in keeping strictly within her character ! She adorns all female virtues with native female softness. Women, while untainted by affectation, have a natural cheerfulness of mind, tenderness and benignity of heart, which justly endears them to us, either to animate our joys, or soothe our sorrows ; but how are they changed, and how shocking do they become, when the rage of ambition, or the pride of learning, agitates and swells those breasts, where only love, friendship, and tender care, should dwell !

Let Flavia be their model, who, though she could support any character, assumes none, never misled by fancy or vanity, but guided singly by reason : whatever she says or does, is the manifest result of a happy nature, and a good understanding, though she knows whatever women ought, and, it may be, more than they are required to know. She conceals the superiority she has, with as much care, as others take to display the superiority they have not ; she conforms herself to the turn of the company she is in, but in a way of rather avoiding to be distanced, than desiring to take the lead. Are they merry, she is cheerful ; are they grave, she is serious ; are they absurd, she is silent. Though she thinks and speaks as a man would do, she effeminates, if I may use the expression, whatever she says, and gives all the graces of her own sex to the strength of ours ; she is well-bred without the troublesome ceremonies and frivolous forms of those who only affect to be so. As her good breeding proceeds jointly from good nature and good sense, the former inclines her to oblige,

oblige, and the latter shews her the easiest and best way of doing it. Woman's beauty, like men's wit, is generally fatal to the owners, unless directed by a judgment, which seldom accompanies a great degree of either: her beauty seems but the proper and decent lodging for such a mind; she knows the true value of it, and far from thinking that it authorizes impertinence and coquetry, it redoubles her care to avoid those errors, that are its usual attendants. Thus she not only unites in herself all the advantages of body and mind, but even reconciles contradictions in others; for she is loved and esteemed, though envied, by all.

XIV.

C O M M O N S E N S E.

SATURDAY, October 8, 1737.

N^o 37.

SOMEbody told the late regent of France*, that a very silly parish priest had abused him most grossly in the pulpit, to which the regent, who was much above resenting the insults of fools, answered very coolly, "Why does the blockhead meddle with me? I am not of his parish."

In this manner I reply to all the anger and indignation, which the grave Mr. Osborne, and the facetious sir A. B. C. have been pleased to express against me. Cannot they let me alone? I am sure they have nothing to do with common sense. Nay, I even return them good for evil, and do for them, what I believe nobody in the kingdom does but myself, for I take in their papers at my own expence. It is true I find my account in it, for the Gazetteer makes me laugh, and the London Journal makes me sleep. I take the former in the morning, and the latter at night. Sir A. B. C. and his associates have such an absurd pertness, and so inimitable an alacrity in sinking, that it is impossible not to laugh at first, though, I confess they are

* The duke of Orleans, who was regent during the minority of Lewis XV.

below it, and that it is a little ill-natured into the bargain. But one can no more help it, than one can help laughing at an awkward fellow, who, going to sit down, misses his chair, and falls ridiculously upon his breech ; though, to be sure, there is no joke in it, and very probably the poor man has hurt himself too. Mr. Osborne has quite a different effect upon me ; his solid uniform dulness is the surest soporific I have met with, and every Saturday night, as soon as I am in bed, my man constantly asks me, “ Does your honor take your “ London Journal to-night ? ” I never refuse his offer, and, to do him justice, he reads with a slow monotony, so excellently adapted to the performance, that one would think he was the author of it himself.

Thus, after taking these two authors regularly, night and morning, they are carefully laid by in a little closet, where I ultimately take them, as they happen to lie next my hand.

I have lately heard, with concern, that I shall soon be deprived of these benefits, and that my two favourite authors will withdraw their weekly and daily labors from the public, in order to exhibit themselves in other shapes. Mr. Osborne, I am told, has engaged himself to supply the stage with tragedies, and sir A. B. C. with comedies ; that it may not be said, that the late act of parliament has prevented the production of excellent dramatic performances, as some of the malecontents pretended it would. Though this will disturb the present regular course of my present laughter, which I must afterwards take by the lump, and in twelve-penny doses, yet I must acknowledge them to be the properest authors to answer the true meaning and intendment of the bill : for I will defy the most inveterate and ingenious malice, even that of the Craftsman, to apply any thing out of their writings. With what impatience do I long to see the tragic scenes of our laureat disgraced and eclipsed by Osborne’s solid drama ! Yes, Osborne shall snatch the poppies from Cibber’s brow, and plant them on his own. I cannot help suggesting, as a friend, to this hopeful young tragic poet, that there is in the Rehearsal both a sleeping scene, and a yawning one, incomparably well written, which I would advise him to have before his eyes, while he can keep them open.

I condole with the ingenious author of "Love in a hollow tree *," who must, indisputably, resign the comic scenes to sir A. B. C.

As I am persuaded these two young writers will have the stage entirely to themselves, I most humbly represent it to the lord chamberlain, as a piece of justice, to have their labors equally divided between the managers of the two only theatres now subsisting. The comedy, I believe, must belong to Mr. Rich; for, I presume, sir A. B. C. after the distinguished zeal he has manifested for the protestant religion, in opposition to the attempts of Mr. Ward, would, by no means, aid and abet a person of Mr. Fleetwood's principles of religion.

Having said thus much to my two friends, to whom I give my word I will never say any thing more, I cannot conclude, without addressing myself a little to their patron and pay-master. He has certainly parts, a pretty turn to wagery, a little coarse indeed, but yet not without salt; and one must allow him to be what Tully allowed Nævius, "*scurra non parum facetus*," (a buffoon not destitute of some humor). I therefore cannot imagine why he will suffer, much less pay, such blockheads to write for him. I know he will say, they are the best he can get. I admit it, I dare say they are: but then why will he have any? He had much better have none. Sylla bought off a dunce who would be writing for him, and Augustus paid a bad poet, in bad verses, as the surest way to prevent any more. If these fellows are to be paid for their zeal, let the honorable person oblige them to throw him their silence into the bargain. Formerly, a right reverend or two used to draw their pens in his defence, but of late we have seen nothing from that quarter neither; whether those reverend persons have too much wit, or too much bishoprick, to go on, I cannot tell: but this piece of advice I will give him,

* This comedy was written by the late lord Grimston when a boy, and printed in 1705. When he grew up, he was justly ashamed of it, and endeavoured to suppress it: and this he would have effected, but that the dutchess of Marlborough, to serve an election purpose, caused a new impression to be printed, with an elephant in the title-page dancing on a rope. All this edition the author purchased; but her grace, being determined to accomplish her design, sent a copy to be reprinted in Holland, and distributed the whole impression among the electors of St. Albans. See the Works of Dr. William King of the Commons, vol. III. p. 66.

whenever he can get another author of that kind to write for him, not to *translate* him too soon.

This certainly never happened in any reign, or under any administration, before; for, excepting a late imitation of Horace, by Mr. Pope who but seldom meddles with public matters, I challenge the ministerial advocates to produce one line of sense, or English, written on the same side of the question for these last seven years. Has there been an essay in verse or prose, has there been even a distich, or an advertisement, fit to be read on the side of the administration? But on the other side, what numbers of dissertations, essays, treatises, compositions of all kinds in verse and prose, have been written, with all that strength of reasoning, quickness of wit, and elegance of expression, which no former period of time can equal? Has not every body got by heart satires, lampoons, ballads and farcisms against the administration? and can any body recollect, or repeat, one line for it? What can be the cause of this? It cannot be, that those who are able to serve the honourable person despair of being rewarded by him, since the known instances of his liberality to the worst of writers are sure pledges of his profusion to the best. Is it then the rigid virtue, the inflexible honor of the brightest geniuses of this age, that hinders them from engaging in that cause, for which they would be so amply recompensed? If so, I congratulate the present times, for that was not usually the characteristic of wit, and they were formerly accused of flattery, at least, if not of prostitution, to ministerial favour and rewards.

In all former reigns, the wits were of the side of the ministers; the Osbornes and the A. B. C's against them. And how would the Godolphins, the Somers's, the Halifax's, and the Dorsets, have blushed, to have been the Mæcenæ of such wretched scribblers? But they were not reduced to such an ignominious necessity. They found the best writers as proud to engage in their cause, as able to support it. Even the infamous and pernicious measures of King Charles the second's reign, as they are now called, were palliated, varnished, or justified by the ablest pens. By what uncommon fatality then is this administration destitute of all literary support?

One would be apt to suppose, if one did not know the contrary, that there was something in the measures so low, so corrupt, and so disgraceful, that common decency would not suffer wit, or good sense, to appear on that side, but made them, in this case, withstand those temptations, to which heretofore they have too often yielded. Nay, the misfortune extends still farther: for I am told, that among those very few, who engaged in the measures, and are able to countenance them in two certain places, the best withhold their eloquence, and only swell the numbers, by a silent and full concurrence. So that, as Pliny observed in his time, *Vota nunc numerantur, non ponderantur* (votes now are counted, not weighed).

As this case is really compassionate in itself, and particularly hard upon us anti-ministerial writers, as we are called, who cannot possibly answer what we do not understand, I will offer what expedients occur to me, for our mutual relief.

I should think Mr. Wreathcock and Mr. Justice, who are both happily returned from transportation, might be of singular use in this distress. The experienced knowledge of the former in the useful parts of the law, and the known skill of the latter in books of all sorts, must qualify them excellently well for political writers; and if they clubbed their talents, they would amply repair the loss of the deceased Francis Walsingham, esq; or, at least, they would infinitely exceed any now extant. But, if this cannot be brought about, and the avocations of these two gentlemen will not allow them the leisure to turn authors, the last shift I can think of, and which seems to me the most likely to be put in practice, is for the administration to employ their authors of acts of parliament, who answered certain humorous theatrical pieces very effectually last year, with a * "Be it enacted," and who, with a "Be it further enacted," will probably reply next year, with the same spirit and vigor, to all other performances of what kind soever.

* In allusion to a thought of Mr. Gay, who addressed a poem to his ingenious and worthy friend Mr. Lowndes, "author of that celebrated treatise in folio, called *the Land Tax Bill*."

XV.

COMMON SENSE.

SATURDAY, Jan. 15, 1738.

N^o 51.

MY ingenious predecessor the Spectator, whom I wish to imitate, but without pretending to equal, bid his fair countrywomen, "beware the Ides of May," looking upon that season to be as fatal to their virtue, as the Ides of March had formerly proved, to Cæsar's life. I am sure I heartily concur with him, in his regard and concern for that beautiful part of our species: but I cannot help differing with him greatly, as to the time and causes of their danger, and thinking that he has left the most critical part of the year unguarded and defenceless. Beware, therefore, ye fair, say I, the Ides of January; and muster up all the collected force of habit, education, and virtue, to withstand the operations of the winter campaign, or you may happen to fall, with less decency than Cæsar.

The Spectator founds his apprehensions of the month of May upon three suppositions, all which, with submission, I think groundless. The first is, "that the spirits, after having been, as it were, frozen and congealed by the winter, are then turned loose, and set a rambling."

Surely the spirits may more justly be said to be turned loose, and set a rambling, in January, after a tedious six months confinement in the country, than they can be in May, after a four months evaporation in London. For my own part, I consider January as the general gaol delivery of the fair sex. It is then that they come to town, flushed with the health, and irritated with the confinement, of the country. It is then that, with an appetite whetted for pleasure by long abstinence, they taste more exquisitely their regained liberty, and feel all the benefits of their *babeas corpus*. And if ever constitution or resentment can be supposed to have any share in

in a fine woman's transactions, it is then that their effects are most to be dreaded.

The Spectator's next supposition is, "that the gay prospect of the fields and the meadows, with the courtship of the birds on every tree, naturally unbend the mind, and soften it to pleasure." What effect this rural scene may have upon a milkmaid, I cannot say, but I can never imagine that women of fashion and delicacy can be affected by such objects. The fields and the meadows are their aversion, and the periodical anniversary loves of the birds their contempt. It is the gay London scene, where successive pleasures raise the spirits and warm the imagination, which prepares the fairest breasts to receive the tenderest impressions.

The last conjecture is, "that a woman is prompted by a kind of instinct to throw herself upon a bed of flowers, and not to let those beautiful couches, which nature has provided, lie useless." This again evidently relates to the ruddy milkmaid; for, not to mention the danger of catching cold upon one of these beds, to any body above a milkmaid, surely the privacy, conveniency, and security, of a good damask bed, or couch, are much stronger temptations to a woman of fashion, to recline a little, than all the daisies and cowslips in a meadow.

Having thus briefly answered the arguments of my predecessor, or at least shewn, that his care and concern were only calculated for the inferior part of the sex, I shall, now, humbly lay before those of superior rank, the many "difficulties and dangers," to which the winter exposes them.

I believe I may take it for granted, that every fine woman, who comes to town in January, comes heartily tired both of the country and of her husband. The happy pair have yawned at one another at least ever since Michaelmas, and the two indivisible halves, of man and wife, have been exceedingly burthensome to each other. The lady, who has had full leisure most minutely to consider her other moiety, has either positively or comparatively found out, that he is by no means a pretty man, and meditates indemnification to herself, either by her return to the pretty man, or by enlisting one for the current service of the year. In these dis-
positions

positions she opens the winter, but at the same time, with firm and steadfast purpose, of not transgressing the bounds, or even violating the appearances, of virtue. But alas! how frail are all our best resolves! The lover appears first in the innocent form, of value and esteem, his conversation is listened to with attention, and approved of: it grows frequent and particular; how can one help that? Where is the harm of being distinguished by the friendship of a man of sense and fashion? can it be wondered at, that one converses more with him, than with a thousand fools, that would be always plaguing one? Besides, he says nothing one has reason to take ill, or that would justify one in not being civil to him.

With these early and just distinctions in his favour, the pretty man proceeds, and gains the more ground, as his approaches are the less perceived or apprehended. He is admitted to the toilette, as an agreeable friend and companion, where he improves the morning moments, which I take to be the *mollia tempora*, so propitious to *tête à têtes*: here the conversation insensibly grows more serious, particular applications are made of general topics, sentiments of love and constancy are discussed; the pretty man confesses and laments his unfortunate disposition to both, and wishes to heaven that he knew neither; the lady, not without some emotion, and an awkward smartness, tells him that she believes they will neither of them ever do him any great hurt. This unjust reproach extorts from him, what otherwise he could never have had the courage to have said, *viz.* that, "that depends entirely upon her." Here it is out, the ice is broke. What is to be done? The lady now plainly perceives his meaning, which she never before suspected. She flattered herself that he had a friendship and value for her, but she now finds the contrary. She is sorry he has put it out of her power, to have any longer that esteem for him, which she confesses she once had; but they must never meet any more, if that is to be the language. The lover, for now I may call him so, deprecates her wrath, bids her blame her own beauty, and his fate, but pity him, and pressing her hand, which, it may be, in her anger, she forgets to pull away, faithfully promises, never to hold that language more, if he can help it. Upon this solemn engagement, he is
 forgiven,

forgiven, re-admitted, and all danger is looked upon to be over. Short and fallacious security ! for, this point once gained, the besieger, if I may borrow some military metaphors, is most advantageously posted, is in a situation to parley with the garrison, and stands fair for the *born-work*. Here he can argue the case fully, shew the negligence, the injustice, or the oppression, of the present governor, offer terms of honor, safety, and better usage, and, by persuasions, either bring about a willing surrender, or at least so far abate the vigor of the resistance, as with a little force to make himself master of the place.

Having thus represented the danger, I will now point out the best preservatives, I can think of, against it; for in this case prevention alone can be used, remedy comes too late.

I therefore recommend to my countrywomen, to be particularly upon their guard, against the very man whose conquest they most wish for, and to be assured that the reasons which determine their choice are so many instances of their danger. Let them begin to reflect, as soon as ever they begin to find a particular pleasure in his conversation, and let them tremble when they first make him a graver curtesy than they do to other people. But if, when he approaches them, they pull up their gloves, adjust their tucker, and count the sticks of their fan, let them despair, for they are further gone than they imagine. And though they may, for a time, deceive themselves with the notion that it is his understanding only that engages their attention, they will find at last that man, like the serpent, when he has once got his head in, the rest will soon follow. Friendship and esteem are the bearded arrows of love, that enter with ease, but, when torn out, leave the wound greater.

A constant dissipation, and hurry of various trifles, is of great use in this case, and does not give leisure to the mind to receive lasting impressions ; but beware of select *coteries*, where, without an engagement, a lady passes but for "an odd body."

A course of visiting-days is also an excellent preservative against an attachment. The rigorous sentences of those tremendous tribunals, fulminated by the old and ugly, upon the young and fair, and where, as in the inquisition, the slightest suspicions amount to proofs, must

must necessarily strike great terror, and inspire wholesome resolutions.

I absolutely prohibit balls; the agitation of country-dances putting the blood into an unusual ferment, too favourable to the partner. Besides, they often encourage, and cause, the first squeeze by the hand; which, according as it is taken, is either laid to the violence of the passion, or excused by the impetuosity of the dance. Moreover, there is a certain figure called *setting*, that often occasions a familiar collision, which I have often known ominous, and in its consequences productive of *other figures*.

Masquerades should be used with great care and moderation; for, though I do not look upon them as either convenient or necessary for the ratification of mutual love and alliance, I hold them to be exceedingly commodious for the previous negotiations; and there are certain secret articles in those treaties, which are better asked, heard, and adjusted, between the contracting parties, under a masque than barefaced.

I have no objection to operas; the innocence of the composition admitting of no application, and conveying no idea whatsoever: what little inconveniencies might be apprehended from the softness and tenderness of the music, are amply counterbalanced, *Sopranos* being the objects of the attention, and raptures of the ladies. And I have even known this harmless musical attachment stand many a fine woman in great stead.

But I require them to be very cautious in the choice and use of the other theatrical entertainments, and avoid the representation of those dramatic pieces, both tragic and comic, which seem only calculated to soften the heart, and inflame the imagination. What warm and pleasing descriptions of love are our best tragedies filled with! It is commonly what the whole turns upon, and is represented as the only comfort, pleasure, or joy, of life. It is described, as

“ The cordial drop, heaven in our cup has thrown,
“ To make the nauseous draught of life go down.”

And can one wonder then, that a lady, who does not find this incomparable drop at home, should seek for it elsewhere?

We are told in another place, that,

“ Life without love is load, and time stands still :
 “ What we refuse to love to death we give,
 “ And, then, then only when we love we live.”

This at once explains the whole thing to them, and accounts for their being tired of their country *tête-à-têtes*, with their husbands, and for their saying so often, “ Well! this is not living!” It seems it was all for want of love ; an omission which they resolve, not to be much longer guilty of.

Mr. Dryden expresses himself with still more energy upon this subject in Aurengzebe, and paints it in the warmest and most glowing colors ; with him, it is the pleasure,

“ Where nature sums up all her joys in one ;”

and which,

“ So fills the senses, that the soul seems fled,
 “ And thought itself does for the time lie dead.”

Must not such lively descriptions as these, independently of certain hints of nature, tempt curiosity to make a trial of the truth ? And is it possible not to pity, rather than blame, the experiments, which a lady is thus strongly prompted to make ?

But this is not all : for, lest these tender sentiments and luscious descriptions should only soften the heart, our best comedies come in to their aid, with their practical part, and pin the basket. Here the ways and means are chalked out, the pleasing progress of love delineated, and even the conclusion of it almost exhibited. It is unlucky for the audience, that Berynthia, in the *Relapse*, had an inner room, where she and her lover retire. But, however, that the audience may not be much longer in the dark than she had been, she takes care to inform them, that she never was better pleased in all her life.

Belinda, in taking her leave of Mr. Dorimant, after having passed part of the night with him, seems most penitentially to say, “ Well, “ were this to do again ;” but, upon Mr. Dorimant’s answering,
 “ We

"We should do it, should not we?" She tenderly replies, "I believe we should." Can one refuse to give credit to the so recent testimonies and experience of two ladies of such agreeable characters? And the belief of a pleasure, naturally invites to the pursuit of it.

It would be endless to specify the particular plays which I must totally prohibit; but I believe the best, and shortest general rule, that I can give my countrywomen, is absolutely to abstain from all those, which they like best.

There are certain books too, of a most stimulating and inflammatory nature, a few doses of which may throw the reader into such a fever, that all the cooling and soporific volumes of our modern divines may not be able to abate, and which can only be cured by strong sudorifics. The catalogue of these books would be endless: but my fair readers will pretty well guess at them, when I tell them, that I mean those, which are generally kept under lock and key, and which, when any body comes in, are immediately clapt under the cushion.

I have but one caution more to add; but that is, it may be, the most material one of all; to beware of morning visits. Breakfast-time is a critical period; the spirits are fresh and active, and, if the watchful lover comes in soon after the drowsy husband is gone out, it presents to the lady a contrast too favourable to the former. The interposing tea-table is but a weak barrier against impatient love. Opportunity invites, resentment provokes, nature at least approves; and, in such a violent situation,

"She, who alone her lover can withstand,

"Is more than woman, or he less than man."

XVI.

COMMON SENSE.

SATURDAY, Feb. 11, 1738.

N^o 54.

"Ne vitam tranſcant, veluti pecora ; quæ natura prona, atque ventri obedientia finxit." SALLUST.
Lest they ſhould paſs their time like the beaſts, which are by nature diſpoſed to grovel upon this earth, and be ſlaves to their bellies.

TA S T E is now the fashionable word of the fashionable world. Every thing muſt be done with taſte : that is ſettled ; but where and what that taſte is, is not quite ſo certain, for, after all the pains I have taken to find out what was meant by the word, and whether thoſe who uſe it oftneſt had any clear idea annexed to it, I have only been able negatively to diſcover that they do not mean their own natural taſte ; but, on the contrary, that they have ſacrificed it to an imaginary one, of which they can give no account. They build houſes in taſte, which they cannot live in with conveniency* ; they ſuffer with impatience the muſic they pretend to hear with rapture, and they even eat nothing they like, for the ſake of eating in taſte.

Not for himſelf, he ſees, or hears, or eats,
 Artiſts muſt chuſe his pictures, muſic, meats.

POPE.

It is certain the commandments, now ſo much neglected, if not abrogated, might be obſerved with much leſs ſelf-denial, than theſe imaginary laws of taſte, to which ſo exact and ſcrupulous an obedience is paid.

I take taſte, when not uſed for the ſenſation of the palate, which is its proper ſignification, to be a metaphor, to expreſs that judgment each man forms to himſelf of thoſe things, which are not contained in any certain rules, and which admit of no demonſtration ; thus

* This was the caſe of a general, who, having applied to an Engliſh nobleman, celebrated for his taſte in architecture, to direct the building of a houſe for himſelf, had one conſtructed indeed with great elegance and regularity on the outſide, but altogether deſtitute of every convenience for a family to live in. Lord Cheſterfield upon ſeeing it, told the general, If I had your houſe, I would hire the oppoſite one to live in, and enjoy the proſpect.

circles

circles and equilateral triangles allow of no taste, they must be as they are; but the colors they are drawn in, or the materials they are made of, depend upon fancy or taste.—In building, there are certain necessary rules founded upon nature, as, that the stronger must support the weaker, &c. but the ornamental and convenient parts are the objects of taste. Hence arises the propriety of the metaphor, because taste in every thing is undetermined and personal, as in the palate and all our other senses; nay even our minds are as differently affected as our palates, by the same things, when those things are not of a nature to be ascertained and demonstrated.

However, this right of tasting for one's self, which seems to be the natural privilege of mankind, is now totally surrendered even in the proper sense of the word; and if a man would be well received in good company, he must eat, though with reluctance, according to the laws of some eminent glutton at Paris, promulgated here by the last-imported French cook, wishing all the while within himself, that he durst avow his natural taste, for good native beef and pudding.

The absurdity, as well as the real ill consequences, of this prevailing affectation, has, I confess excited my wrath; and I resolved that the nobility and gentry of this kingdom should not go on to ruin their fortunes and constitutions, without hearing at least the representations and admonitions of common sense.

Eating, itself, seems to me, to be rather a subject of humiliation than of pride, since the imperfection of our nature appears, in the daily necessity we lie under of recruiting it in that manner. So that one would think the only care of a rational being should be, to repair his decaying fabric as cheap as possible. But the present fashion is directly contrary: and eating, now, is the greatest pride, business, and expence of life, and that too, not to support, but to destroy nature.

The frugal meal was antiently the time of unbending the mind by chearful and improving conversation, and the table-talk of ingenious men has been thought worth transmitting to posterity. The meal is now at once the most frivolous and most serious part of life. The mind is bent to the utmost, and all the attention exerted, for
what?

what ? The critical examination of compound dishes : and if any two or three people happen to start some useful or agreeable subject of conversation, they are soon interrupted, and overpowered by the extatic interjections of, excellent ! exquisite ! delicious ! Pray taste this, you never eat a better thing in your life. Is that good ? Is it tender ? Is it seasoned enough ? Would it have been better so ? Of such wretched stuff as this does the present table-talk wholly consist, in open defiance of all conversation and common sense. I could heartily wish that a collection of it were to be published for the honor and glory of the performers ; but for want of that, I shall give my readers a short specimen of the most ingenious table-talk, I have lately heard carried on with most wit and spirit.

My lord, having tasted and duly considered the Bechamele, shook his head, and then offered as his opinion to the company, that the garlick was not enough concealed, but earnestly desired to know their sentiments, and begged they would taste it with attention.

The company, after proper deliberation, replied, that they were of his lordship's opinion, and that the garlick did indeed distinguish itself too much : but the *maître d'hôtel* interposing represented, that they were now stronger than ever in garlick at Paris ; upon which the company one and all said, that altered the case.

My lord, having sagaciously smelt at the breech of a rabbit, wiped his nose, gave a shrug of some dissatisfaction, and then informed the company, that it was not absolutely a bad one, but that he heartily wished it had been kept a day longer. Ay, said sir Thomas, with an emphasis, a rabbit must be kept. And with the guts in too added the colonel, or the devil could not eat it. Here the *maître d'hôtel* again interposed, and said that they eat their rabbits much sooner now than they used to do at Paris. Are you sure of that ? said my lord, with some vivacity. Yes, replied the *maître d'hôtel*, the cook had a letter about it last night. I am not sorry for that, rejoined my lord ; for, to tell you the truth, I naturally love to eat my meat before it stinks. The rest of the company, and even the colonel himself, confessed the same.

This ingenious and edifying kind of conversation continued, without the least interruption from common sense, through four courses,

courses, which lasted four hours, till the company could neither swallow nor utter any thing more.

A very great person among the antients was very properly asked, if he was not ashamed to play so well upon the fiddle? And one may surely with as much reason ask these illustrious moderns, if they are not ashamed of being such good cooks.

It is really not to be imagined with what profound knowledge and erudition our men of quality now treat these culinary subjects, and I cannot but hope that such excellent critics will at last turn authors themselves; nay, I daily expect to see a digest of the whole art of cookery by some person of honor.

I cannot help hinting, by the way, to these accurate kitchen critics, that it does not become them to be facetious and satyrical upon those dissertations, which ladies sometimes hold upon their dresses, the subject being by no means so low nor so trifling.

Though such a degree of affected gluttony, accompanied with such frivolous discourses, is pardonable in those who are little superior to the animals they devour, and who are only *fruges consumere nati*, I am surprized and hurt when I see men of parts fall into it, since it not only suspends the exercise of their parts for the present, but impairs them, together with their health, for the future; and if fools could contrive, I should think they had contrived this method of bringing men of sense down to them; for it is certain, that when a company is thus gorged, glutted, and loaded, there is not the least difference between the most stupid and the wittiest man in it.

What life in all that ample body, say
What heavenly particle inspires the clay?
The soul subsides, and wickedly inclines
To seem but mortal even in sound divines.

POPE.

Though an excess in wine is highly blameable, it is surely much more pardonable, as the progressive steps to it are chearful, animating, and seducing: the melancholy are for a while relieved, the grave are enlivened, and the witty and the gay seem almost inspired; whereas in eating, after nature is once satisfied, which she soon is, every additional morsel carries dulness and stupidity along with it.

Moreover,

Moreover, these glorious toils are crowned with the just rewards of all chronical distempers ; the gout, the stone, the scurvy, and the palsy, are the never-failing trophies of their achievements. Were these honors, like simple knighthood, only to be enjoyed by those who had merited them, it would be no great matter ; but unfortunately, like baronetship, they descend to and visit their innocent children. It is already very easy to distinguish at sight the puny son of a compound *entremets*, from the lusty offspring of beef and pudding : and I am persuaded, the next generation of the nobility will be a race of pale-faced, spindle-shanked Lilliputians, the most vigorous of whom will not come up to an abortion of John de Gaunt's. Nor does the mischief even stop here, for as the men of fashion frequently condescend to communicate themselves to families of inferior rank, but better constitutions, they enervate those families too, and present them with sickly helpless children, to the great prejudice of the trade and manufactures of this kingdom.

Some people have imagined, and not without some degree of probability, that animal food communicates its qualities with its nourishment. In this supposition it was, that Achilles, who was not only born, and bred, but fed up too for a Hero, was nourished with the marrow of lions ; and we all know what a fine lion he turned out at last. Should this rule hold, it must be a melancholy reflection to consider, that the principal ingredients in the food of our principal nobility, is essence of swine.

The Egyptians, who were a wise nation, thought so much depended upon diet, that they dieted their kings, and prescribed by law both the quality and quantity of their food. It is much to be lamented, that those bills of fare are not preserved to this time, since they might have been of singular use in all monarchical governments ; but it is reasonable to be conjectured, from the wisdom of that people, that they allowed their kings no aliments of a bilious or a choleric nature, and only such as sweetened their juices, cooled their blood, and enlivened their faculties, if they had any.

The common people of this kingdom are dieted by laws ; for, by an act passed about two years ago, not less advantageous to the crown than to the people, the use of a liquor which destroyed both
their

their minds and their bodies, was wisely prohibited, and by repeated acts of parliament, their food is reduced to a very modest and wholesome proportion. Surely then the nobility and gentry of the kingdom deserve some attention too, not so much indeed for their own sakes, as for the sake of the public, which is in some measure under their care : for if a porter, when full of gin, could not do his business, I am apt to think a privy counsellor, when loaded with four courses, will but bungle at his.

Suppose, for instance, a number of persons, not over-lively at best, should meet of an evening to concert and deliberate upon public measures of the utmost consequence, grunting under the load and repletion of the strongest meats, panting almost in vain for breath, but quite in vain for thought, and reminded only of their existence by the unfavoury returns of an olio ; what good could be expected from such a consultation ? The best one could hope for would be, that they were only assembled for shew, and not for use ; not to propose or advise, but silently to submit to the orders of some one man there, who, feeding like a rational creature, might have the use of his understanding.

I would therefore recommend it to the consideration of the legislature, whether it may not be necessary to pass an act, to restrain the licentiousness of eating, and assign certain diets to certain ranks and stations. I would humbly suggest the strict vegetable as the properest ministerial diet, being exceedingly tender of those faculties in which the public is so highly interested, and very unwilling they should be clogged or incumbered.

But I do most seriously recommend it to those who, from their rank and situation in life, settle the fashions, and whose examples will in these sorts of things always be followed, that they will by their example, which will be more effectual than any law, not only put a stop to, but reform, the ridiculous, expensive, and pernicious luxury of tables ; they are the people whom all inferior ranks imitate, as far as they are able, and commonly much farther. It is their fatal example that has seduced the gentry, and people of smaller fortune, into this nasty and ruinous excess. Let their example then, at last, reclaim them ; let those who are able to bear the expence, and

known not to grudge it, give the first blow to this extravagant folly; let them avow their own natural taste, for nature is in every thing plain and simple, and gratify it decently, at a frugal and wholesome table, instead of purchasing stupidity and distempers at the expence of their time and their estates. And they may depend upon it, that a fashion so convenient, as to the fortunes and the constitutions of their fellow subjects, will chearfully be followed, and universally prevail, to the great advantage of the public.

 XVII.

C O M M O N S E N S E.

SATURDAY, March 4, 1738.

N^o 57.

I TOOK my leave some time ago of the daily filly Gazetteers, and promised to take no further notice of them; but then I only promised that impunity to their folly and absurdity. Now, whether they understood that amnesty to extend farther than I meant it, or whether, with the last three or four shillings paid them by Mr. Pounce with a P, they likewise received orders to be faucy and impertinent, I cannot tell; but be that as it will, they have of late been so impudently personal upon one worthy gentleman*, that I cannot help stepping a little out of my way to give them a kick: nor is this the greatest provocation they have given me; for, notwithstanding the regard I have for the character of that young gentleman, with whom they are so free, I am more incensed against them for disturbing the ashes of the dead, and for presuming, as they do, to touch Cicero with their impure and unhallowed hands. I therefore begin, by absolutely forbidding them even to mention, directly or

* Mr. afterwards lord Lyttelton, who had been most grossly abused, both in doggrel verse, and in dull prose, by the authors of the Gazetteer.

indirectly,

indirectly, the name of Cicero, till they have first read and understood him in the original; which, as I take it, amounts to a perpetual prohibition.

I have so much charity for the poor devils, as to believe they would not write at all, if they could help it, and that they would write better if they could. I never looked upon their daily labors as voluntary, but considered them as the production of heads and stomachs equally empty, and I really took in their papers out of charity, for, as to any other use I make of them, I might be supplied cheaper; but I must tell them that, if they grow personally scurrilous, I shall withdraw my charity, and common sense shall pursue them, though indeed I fear it will never overtake them.

By what I can understand of their papers, they seem to have a great dislike to a certain young gentleman, whom they have sometimes almost called by his own name, and of late by a hard Latin name. I confess it is very natural they should dislike him, nor am I in the least surprized that he should be the object of their satire, when I consider the useful subjects of their panegyrics; but then I must intimate to them, that they proceed very injudiciously, and do him a service which they little intended. Would they hurt him, they should commend him, for they are very sure that nobody will take their words for any thing; but when such wretched advocates, and profligate panegyrists of corruption, oppression, fraud, and all political immorality, direct their satire at one man, it is marking him out to the public, as a person eminently distinguished by all the opposites of those vices. The execution too of their design is as injudicious, as the design itself. They, somewhere or other, had an imperfect account of one Cicero, who had no mind that one Cæcilius, a young man, should be the prosecutor of one Verres, an old rogue, and that this same Cicero had told this Cæcilius, that he was too vain and enterprising for so young a man, and wholly unequal to the task he undertook. This they thought was a pure scrap of history for them, and resolved to apply it immediately, when behold the misfortune that always attends ignorance and presumption! all the particular circumstances of that affair made against them, and suggested ugly applications elsewhere. When I saw that they made this

young gentleman, Cæcilius, I was really afraid for them, and went on with impatience to see who they would make Verres : but I perceived they had prudently avoided this danger, and wisely, as they thought, dubbed their patron Hortensius, who was a great lover of pictures and statues, was bribed by a sphynx of curious workmanship and of inestimable value, to appear as the advocate of the most flagitious fellow, and the most infamous cause that Rome ever knew. He prostituted his eloquence to the defence of peculate and corruption, and, by skreening the most infamous of men, became little less so himself. This circumstance is an unlucky one ; I leave it with them to consider of.

As to their Cæcilius himself, it is well known to every body but them, that he was a sham prosecutor, set on by Verres himself to prevent a real one. He had been a sharer both of his plunder and of his guilt, and, upon a pretended concerted quarrel between them, offered himself as the properest person to prosecute this affair ; but Cicero, who was in earnest, and determined that justice should be done upon so notorious an offender, discovered and defeated this stratagem, obtained the management of the cause, pushed it with vigor and abilities, and got the criminal condemned. Was the character of Cæcilius really applicable to this young gentleman, were there any hopes that he could ever be brought to skreen the most notorious corruption, I dare say, he would meet with the approbation, instead of the censure, of this virtuous society ; and I am apt to think, that it is his unlikeness to Cæcilius, and his resemblance to Tully, which have drawn their indignation upon him.

A late very ingenious author has most judiciously observed, in his incomparable and short essay towards a character, &c. that pictures ought to be like the persons they are drawn for, nay so like, as to be known by their acquaintance : but these wretched rogues are conscious they are such bad painters, that, under the signs they daub, they always write the name. It is sometimes a certain young gentleman, who is tall and lean, at other times it is one, who was cofferer about seventeen years ago ; and indeed if it was not for these helps, I, who am their only reader, should be at a great loss to know whom they mean.

I have

I have often wondered what sort of fellows this ingenious society was composed of; for, that their paper is a mosaic work of folly is evident, and I imagine it consists of a parcel of poor devils, who have either failed in their several trades, or who had never parts enough to be bound out, assisted sometimes by what they call *an able hand*, such as a mungrel lawyer, a tattered reverend, or a facetious clerk of an office, who, by sending them a paper now and then, get them a holiday from their daily drudgery; and here I cannot help condoling with them for the irreparable loss they have lately sustained, by the untimely and violent death of Mr. Carr *, who, I am told, was reckoned their top hand: so far is certain, that the under sheriff, to whom that unhappy author gave his papers, was so struck with the similitude of style between them and the Daily Gazetteers, that he was heard to say, however justly Mr. Carr might have suffered, the administration would still have a great loss of him.

As to those of his fraternity, who still survive and write, I have no more time to lose upon them, than just to say, that when they answer this, if they are ordered so to do, I absolutely bar their supposing it to be written by the gentleman himself, whom it is designed to vindicate. This they have often practised, and seem to think it very cunning, whereas it cannot possibly pass on any mortal; for there is not, certainly, more than one man in the kingdom, whose condition is so bad, that he could not find a friend to write in defence of him, when attacked, without being paid for it.

Having said thus much to these miserable journeymen, whom the world and I equally despise, I will just drop one word to their paymaster, whoever he may be; which is, that if he either encourages or suffers these scurrilities upon the private concerns and characters of others, who have always scorned to attack him out of his public character, let him strictly examine himself, and his own circumstances, and consider whether ample returns may not be made him by better pens, and with more truth, than ever were or will be employed on his side.

* He was an attorney, and was concerned in a considerable robbery, for which he was tried, cast, and executed.

XVIII.

COMMON SENSE.

SATURDAY, Oct. 14, 1738.

Nº 89.

SUCH is the uncertainty and unstability of the things of this world, that there is scarce any event, which ought to surprise us, or any thing new to be said upon it. The greatest empires, and best-modeled governments, have been suddenly overturned by unexpected occurrences of unlucky and unforeseen accidents. Notwithstanding which, when one sees great and sudden revolutions happen, one cannot help falling into trite observations, which a thousand events of the same kind had suggested to thousands of people before.

I confess this happened to me lately, when I heard that operas were no more, and that too at a time when the vigor and success, with which a subscription was carried on, both by the great and the fair, seemed to promise them in their fullest lustre. "Shall the kings, and the ministers of the earth, cried I, be surprized when their best-concerted schemes are defeated; schemes which it is generally the common interest of mankind to defeat? and must we behold, unmoved, the fatal catastrophe of that great design, which the common pleasures of mankind seemed engaged to support?" Many other reflections occurred to me, which, though I thought new at the time, I am since persuaded were made by the Assyrians, the Medes, the Persians and others, upon the subversion of their several empires; and therefore I shall not trouble my readers with them.

But I came at last to consider, as I always do, how far, and in what manner, this great event might possibly affect the public, and whether the cessation of opera's would prove a national loss, or a national advantage: for public diversions are by no means things indifferent; they give a right or a wrong turn to the minds of the people, and the wisest governments in the world, I mean, to be sure, our own, thought so not above two years ago, and prudently sub-

jected all our public entertainments to the wisdom and care of the lord chamberlain, his licenser, or his licenser's deputy-licenser.

Was I to follow the examples of the greatest historians, I should search into, and assign the causes of this revolution, and might possibly affirm, with more certainty than they commonly do, that the unskilfulness of the composers, the immoderate profit of the performers, the partialities of the governors, and the influence of foreign mistresses, naturally produced this event. But I wave, at present, these reflections, in order to consider the effects of music in general.

Music was held in great esteem among the antients, particularly the Greeks, who looked upon it as the necessary part of the education of their youth, and thought the due regulation of it worthy the care of their laws; in so much that Timotheus was condemned by a decree of the Lacedæmonians, for introducing innovations in their music, and corrupting the true established taste. Which decree Boëtius has preserved to us in the original. It says, that Timotheus of Miletum, being come into their town, had shewn great disregard to the antient music, and the antient lyre, that he had multiplied the sounds of one, and the strings of the other, and that, instead of the plain, expressive manner of singing, he had invented a fantastical new one, where he had introduced the chromatic, &c. He was therefore publicly reprimanded by the ephori, and his lyre was ordered to be altered.

This is not to be wondered at, considering the astonishing effects which the best historians assure us music had in those days, and of which I shall give some instances.

The Pyrrhic tune, as is well known, had such a martial influence, that, in a very little time, it set the audience a fighting, whether they would or not. This tune, by the way, must have infinitely exceeded our best modern marches, which, by what I have been able to observe in Hyde Park, rather sets our army a dancing, than a fighting. I ascribe this difference wholly to the unskilfulness of our modern composers; for I will never believe that my countrymen have not as much potential courage in them as the Greeks, if properly excited. I therefore wish the Pyrrhic tune had been transmitted
down

down to us, to have been used in proper places, and upon proper occasions.

The Phrygian music inclined as much to love, and Quintilian tells us that Pythagoras, having observed a young man so inflamed by this Phrygian modulation that he was going to offer violence to a lady of condition, immediately ordered the instruments to play in a graver measure, called the spondee, which instantly checked the gallant's desires, and saved the lady's chastity. A strong instance this of the force of music, and the sagacity of the philosopher! though by the way, if that Phrygian movement had the same effect upon the lady, which it had upon the gentleman, the philosopher's interposition might possibly be but unwelcome. Our operas have not been known to occasion any attempts of this violent nature; which I likewise impute to the effects of the composition, and not to any degree of insensibility or modesty in our youth, and who, it must be owned, give a fair hearing to music, and whose short bobs seem admirably contrived for the better reception of sounds.

Dion Chrysostomus informs us, that the musician Timotheus, playing one day upon the flute before Alexander the Great, in the movement called Ortios, that prince immediately laid hold of his great sword, and was with difficulty hindered from doing mischief, restrained, no doubt, by some prudent and pacific minister. And Mr. Dryden, in his celebrated ode upon St. Cecilia's day, represents that hero alternately affected, in the highest degree, by tender or martial sounds, now languishing in the arms of his courtesan, Thais, and anon furious, snatching a flambeau, and setting fire to the town of Persepolis. This we have lately heard, set to music by the great Mr. Handel, who, for a modern, certainly excels in the Ortios, or warlike measure. But we have some reason to think that the impressions, which it was observed to make upon the audience, soon gave way to the Phrygian or lascivious movement.

I am apt to believe that in music, as in many other arts and sciences, we fall infinitely short of the ancients. For I take it for granted, that we should be open to the same impressions, if our composers had but the skill to make them. However, though music does not now cause those surprizing effects which it did formerly,

it still retains power enough over men's passions, to make it worth our care : and I heard some persons, equally skilled in music and politics, assert, that king James was sung and fiddled out of this kingdom by the protestant tune of Lillybullero, and that somebody else would have been fiddled into it again, if a certain treasonable Jacobite tune had not been timely silenced by the unwearied pains and diligence of the administration.

The bag-pipe, I am credibly informed, has been known to have a wonderful effect upon our countrymen the North Britons, and to influence whole clans ; which I am the more inclined to believe, because I have really seen it do strange things here.

The Swifs, who are not a people of the quickest sensations, have at this time a tune, which, when played upon their fifes, inspires them with such a love of their country, that they run home as fast as they can : which tune is therefore, under severe penalties, forbid to be played, when their regiments are on service, because they would instantly desert. Could such a tune be composed here, it would then be worth the nation's while to pay the piper, and one could easily suggest the proper places for the performance of it : for instance, it might be of great use, at the opening of certain assemblies, where prayers have already proved ineffectual, and the serjeant at arms and the gentleman usher of the black-rod should be instructed to play it in perfection. The band of court music would of course execute it incomparably, where it would doubtless have all the effect which could be expected. I would therefore most earnestly recommend it to the learned doctor Green, to turn his thoughts that way. It is not from the least distrust of Mr. Handel's ability that I address myself preferably to doctor Green : but Mr. Handel, having the advantage to be by birth a German, might probably, even without intending it, mix some modulations in his composition, which might give a German tendency to the mind, and therefore greatly lessen the national benefit I propose by it.

How far the polite part of the world is affected by the cessation of operas, I am no judge myself ; but I asked a young gentleman of wit and pleasure about town, whether he did not apprehend that he should be a sufferer by it in his way of business, for that I pre-

sumed those soft and tender sounds soothed and melted the fairest breasts, and fitted them to receive impressions? He answered me very frankly, that, as far as he could judge, the loss would be but inconsiderable to their profession, that some years ago, indeed, the taste of music, being expressive and pathetic, had inspired tender sentiments, and softened stubborn virtue, but the fashion being of late for both the composers and the performers only to shew what tricks they could play, had rather taught the ladies to play tricks too, than made the proper impressions upon them, and that he oftener found them tired than softened, at the end of an opera. But he confessed that they might happen to miss the opera books a little, because, as most of his profession could make a shift to read the English version at least, they found in those incomparable dramas, sentiments proper for all situations, which might not otherwise have occurred to them, and which, by emphatical signs and looks, they could apply to the proper objects; insomuch that he had often known very pretty sentimental conversations carried on through a whole opera by these references to the book.

Having thus shewn the power and effects of music, both among the antients and the moderns, and the good and ill uses which may be made of it, I shall submit it to persons wiser than myself, what is to be done in this important crisis. I look upon operas to have been the great national establishment of music, and I am persuaded that innumerable sects will rise from their ruins, and break into various conventicles of vocal and instrumental, which, if not attended to, may prove of ill consequence. But in this, as in every thing else, I put my trust in the wisdom of the ministers, who daily shew that nothing is above their skill, or below their care. Kingdoms and gin-sellers tremble at their fleets, and their informers. Terrible abroad, and lovely at home, they put me always in mind of that beautiful description, which Tasso gives of one of his heroes,

Se'l vedi folminar, fra l'arme, au volto
Marte le stimi; Amor se scopre il volto.

If you were to see him, says he, glittering in his armour, and in all the thunder of war, you would take him for Mars, the god of it; but when that is over, and he lays by his helmet, you would think him the god of love.

XIX.

COMMON SENSE.

SATURDAY, NOV. 11, 1738.

N^o 93.

EVERY age has its fashionable follies, as well as its fashionable vices: but, as follies are more numerous than vices, they change oftener, and every four or five years produce a new one. I will indulge my fellow-subjects in the full enjoyment of such follies, as are inoffensive in themselves, and in their consequences. Men, as well as children, must have their play-things: but when *hæ nugæ seria ducunt in mala*, (these trifles lead on to real evils) I shall take the liberty to interpose, represent, and censure.

Fashion, which is always at first the offspring of little minds, and the child of levity, gains strength and support by the great number of its relations, till at length it is received and adopted by better understandings, who either conform to it to avoid singularity, or who are surprized into it, from want of attention to an object, which they look upon as indifferent in itself, and so dignify and establish the folly.

This is the case of a present prevailing extravagancy, I mean the absurd and ridiculous imitation of the French, which is now become the epidemical distemper of this kingdom: not confined to those only, from whom one expects no better, but it has even infected those whom one should have thought much above such weaknesses; and I behold with indignation the sturdy conquerors of France shrunk and dwindled into the imperfect mimics, or ridiculous *caricaturas*, of all its levity. The *travesty* is universal; poor England produces nothing fit to eat, or drink, or wear. Our cloaths, our furniture, nay our food too, all is to come from France, and I am credibly informed that a poulterer at Calais now actually supplies our polite tables with half their provisions.

I do not mean to undervalue the French; I know their merit, they are a chearful, industrious, ingenious, polite people, and have many things in which I wish we did imitate them. But, like true mimics, we only ape their imperfections, and awkwardly copy those parts, which all reasonable Frenchmen themselves condemn in the originals.

If this folly went no farther than disguising both our meats and ourselves in the French modes, I should bear it with more patience, and content myself with representing only to my country folks, that the one would make them sick, and the other ridiculous: but when even the materials for the folly are to be brought over from France too, it becomes a much more serious consideration. Our trade and manufactures are at stake, and what seems at first only very silly, is in truth a great national evil, and a piece of civil immorality.

There is surely some obedience due to the laws of the land, which strictly prohibit the importation of these fooleries, and, independently of those laws, there is a strong obligation upon every member of a society from which he himself receives so many advantages: these are moral duties, if I know what moral duties are, but I presume they are awkward ones, and not fit to restrain the unbounded fancy of fine gentlemen and fine ladies, in their dress and manner of living; and it is, certainly, much more reasonable, that our trade should decay, and our manufactures starve, than that people of taste and condition should content themselves with the wretched produce of their own country.

Methinks there is something very mean in being such avowed plagiarists, and I wonder the British spirit will submit to it. Why will our countrymen thus distrust themselves? Let them exert their own genius and invention, and I make no doubt but they will be able to produce as many original extravagancies, as all the marshals of France can do. How much more glorious would it be for those ladies who establish the fashion here, to consider at the same time their own dignity, and the public good! Let them not servilely copy or translate French edicts, but let them enact original laws of their own. I look upon the birth-day cloaths of a fine woman to be the statute of dress for that year: and, by the way, the only statute which

which is complied with. I therefore humbly intreat, that it may be enacted in English. Seriously, if three or four ladies, at the head of the fashion, would but value themselves upon being cloathed entirely with the manufactures of their own country, and from the plenitude of their own power, pronounce all foreign manufactures ungentle, awkward, and frippery, the legions, who dress under their banner, would soon be as much ashamed of dressing against their country, as they are now of being thought even natives of it. This would be moreover the real imitation of the French, who like nothing but their own.

What I have said with relation to my fair countrywomen holds equally true, as to my fine countrymen, to whom I cannot help hinting, over and above, that they make very ridiculous Frenchmen, and might be very valuable Englishmen. Every nation has its distinguishing mark and characteristic. If we have a solidity, which the French have not, they most certainly have an elasticity, which we have not; and the imitation is equally awkward. Horace justly calls imitators *servum pecus* (flavish cattle); and, to do him justice, he is himself an original. If my countrymen would be thought conversant with Horace, as they most of them would be, I am sure they will find in him no instance of foppery, luxury, or profusion.

We have heard with satisfaction that some considerable persons in this kingdom, from a just and becoming concern for our distressed tradesmen and manufacturers, discountenance, as far as possible, this pernicious folly. And though I make no doubt but, at the end of this long mourning, by which trade has suffered so immensely, some measures will be taken to this effect elsewhere, this would be the most likely way of eradicating the evil, and as it is by no means unprecedented to annex certain conditions to the honor and privilege of subjects appearing in the presence of their sovereign, surely none can be juster nor more reasonable than, that they should contribute to the good of their country.

But the mischief does not stop here neither; for now we are not content with receiving our fashions and the materials for them from France, but we even export ourselves in order to import them. The matter, it seems, is of too great consequence to trust to hear-say

evidence

evidence for ; but we must go ourselves to view those great originals, be able to say, of our own knowledge, how such a glutton eats, and how such a fool dresses, and return loaded with the prohibited tinsel and frippery of the *palais* *. Half the private families in England take a trip, as they call it, every summer to Paris; and I am assured, that near four hundred thousand pounds have been remitted thither in one year, to supply this extravagancy. Should this rage continue, the act of parliament, proposed in one of Mr. Congreve's comedies, to prohibit the exportation of fools, will in reality become necessary. Travelling is, unquestionably, a very proper part of the education of our youth ; and, like our bullion, I would allow them to be exported. But people of a certain age beyond refining, and once stamped here, like our coin, should be confined within the kingdom. The impressions they have received make them current here, but obstruct their currency any where else, and they only return disguised, defaced, and probably much lessened in the weight.

The sober and well-regulated family of a country gentleman is a very valuable part of the community ; they keep up good neighbourhood by decent hospitality, they promote good manners by their example, and encourage labor and industry by their consumption. But when once they run French, if I may use the expression, and are to be polished by this trip to Paris, I will venture to assure them, that they may, from that day, date their being ridiculous for ever afterwards. They are laughed at in France, for not being like the French, they are laughed at here, for endeavouring to be like them ; and, what is worse, their mimicking their luxury brings them into their necessity, which ends in a most compleat imitation indeed, of their mean and servile dependance upon the court.

I could point out to these itinerant spirits a much shorter, less expensive, and more effectual method of travelling and frenchifying themselves, which is, if they would but travel to *old Sobo*, and stay

* The place where the courts of justice and parliament are held at Paris, answering to Westminster hall. Milliners and toymen are allowed to have shops and stalls ; and know how to dispose of their trinkets, to young lawyers, foreigners, and other persons, whom curiosity or idleness draws to this place.

two or three months in *le quartier des Grecs**; lodgings and *legumes* are very cheap there, and the people very civil to strangers. There too they might possibly get acquainted with some French people, which they never do at Paris, and, it may be, learn a little French, which they never do in France neither: and I appeal to any one, who has seen those venerable personages of both sexes, of the refugees, if they are not infinitely more genteel, easier, and better dressed in the French manner, than any of their modern English mimics.

As for our fair countrywomen in particular, they are so valuable, so beautiful a part of our own produce, and in which we so eminently excel all other nations, that I can by no means allow of their exportation: they are surely, if I may say so, much more valuable commodities than wool or fuller's earth, the exportation of which is so strictly prohibited by our laws, lest foreigners should have the manufacturing of them; which reasoning holds stronger, upon many accounts, in this case, than in the two others.

Let it not be urged, that the loss arising from these follies is but a trifling object with relation to our trade in general. This, for aught I know, might have been true some years ago: but such is the present unhappy state of our trade, that I doubt no object is now a trifling one, or below the attention of every individual. After six and twenty years peace, we labor under every one of the taxes which subsisted at the conclusion of the last expensive war, without reckoning some new ones laid on since; while other nations, gradually eased of that burthen, under-work and under-sell us in every foreign market. The last valuable part of our trade, how has it been attacked for these many years! and how has it been protected! It would be unreasonable to expect that the administration, ingrossed by much greater cares, should attend to so trifling a consideration as trade; nor can one wonder that it has intirely escaped the attention of parliaments, when one considers, that so many affairs

* The place, where most of the descendants of the French refugees then lived. Their chapel, in which divine service was, and still continues to be, performed, according to the rites of the church of England, had formerly belonged to a congregation of Greeks, and has given its name to all the *environs* of Soho square.

of a much higher nature have, of late, so advantageously employed them. But it therefore becomes more peculiarly the care of every individual; and if, from the reformation only of those follies here mentioned, five or six hundred thousand pounds a year may be saved to the nation, which I am convinced is the case, how incumbent is it upon every one to sacrifice a little private folly to so much public good! It may at least be a reprieve to our trade and manufactures from that ruin which, at best, seems to be too near them; and possibly too the examples of some private people may, at least, shame others, whose more immediate care it ought to be, into some degree of attention to what they have so long seemed to neglect and despise.

 XX.

COMMON SENSE.

SATURDAY, Jan. 27, 1739. N° 103.

SIR,

I HAVE lately read, with the greatest satisfaction, the account, printed in our public papers, of the signal victory obtained by his majesty's Hanoverian troops over the Danes *, notwithstanding the great inequality of the numbers, the Danes being at least thirty, and the Hanoverians at most five hundred men; the Danes having moreover the important fortrefs of Steinhorst to protect, and the counfels of counsellor Wedderkop to direct them.

* A more serious account of this transaction, which occasioned a long paper war, and was terminated in 1740 by a treaty with the king of Denmark, is given in the *Farther Vindication of the case of the Hanover Troops*, written by lord Chesterfield and Mr. Waller.

As the best account of this great action is in the Daily Gazetteer of the 25th of December last, which nobody reads, I will, for the satisfaction of the curious, transcribe it from thence.

“ Hanover, December the 12th, O. S. On the 4th instant a detachment of Hanoverians, consisting of five hundred men, with two field-pieces, marched to take possession of the territory of Steinhorst, which belongs to the privy counsellor Wedderkop, wherein were posted thirty dragoons in the service of the king of Denmark. The colonel who commanded the detachment no sooner arrived, but he sent a lieutenant to the Danish captain in the castle to acquaint him, that he was come with orders to take possession of it, and, if he refused, to turn him out by force. The Danish captain having answered the lieutenant, that he was commanded to repel force by force, the two officers had such high words, that they drew their swords and fought a duel, in which the Danish captain was killed on the spot, and the lieutenant mortally wounded. The Hanoverian colonel having advanced with his troops in the *interim*, to begin the attack, a very smart skirmish ensued, wherein several soldiers were killed on both sides. The Danes then drew up their draw-bridges, and retired into the castle, where they defended themselves a while; but the Hanoverians having, by the means of great hooks, plucked down the bridges, they entered the castle and took possession of it, by virtue of an instrument drawn up by a lawyer, and a scrivener, whom they had sent for from Hamburg, for that purpose.”

This action is, in my mind, as great an instance of prudence, generosity, magnanimity, and moderation, as any we read of in antiquity. Considering the strength of the castle and the number of the garrison, it was certainly prudent to send no less than five hundred men to attack it. The colonel shews his generosity, in the first place, by sending a very civil message to the commanding officer, to let him know he was come to take possession of the castle, and to turn him out by force, and then the ardor of his courage, by not staying for

an answer, but beginning the attack in the *interim*. After he had possessed himself of the fortrefs by his hooks, and other warlike instruments, he declines the right of conquest, which he might undoubtedly have insisted upon, but quiets the possession, by virtue of an instrument prepared by a lawyer and scrivener, whom he had sent for from Hamburg for that purpose.

This important fortrefs, together with the estate about it, I am assured, is worth, as to the *dominium utile*, no less than a thousand pounds a year, and inestimable, as to the *dominium supremum*, as it is a check to the northern powers : but the title being pretty intricate and doubtful, his majesty bought it a pennyworth of the duke of Holstein, the last time he visited his German dominions, paying, I think, no more than thirty thousand pounds for it.

I have met with some timorous people, who apprehend ill consequences from this affair. The king of Denmark, say they, incensed at this treatment, will certainly throw himself into the arms of France, which has, for some time, been endeavouring to engage him, as well as other northern powers, provisionally in her interests, to facilitate her future schemes of power and greatness. Nay, more, say they, the king of Denmark may probably resent this upon Hanover itself, and march a considerable body of troops there ; in which case, Hanover will cry out murther, call upon England for help, and we may be obliged to send more fleets to the Baltic, and be engaged in a war upon account of a disputed possession, too inconsiderable even for a law-suit. But those, who talk in this way, are but shallow politicians, and have not an adequate notion of the strength and importance of our foreign dominions, or of the goodness of those troops. On the contrary, it seems evident to me, that the king of Denmark will think twice before he engages in measures disagreeable to that state, whose strength, courage, and conduct, he has of late so sensibly experienced ; but, should he take any rash and inconsiderate step, Hanover alone is more than a match for him, and England neither can nor will be engaged in that quarrel ; and especially at a time that our expences and fleets are employed, in obtaining ample reparation for our merchants, and future security for our trade, which, it may be, is not quite yet accomplished.

Upon

Upon this occasion, give me leave, fir, to suggest to you my thoughts, upon the lustre and advantage, which England receives from being so happily annexed to his majesty's German dominions, in answer to the vulgar prejudices too commonly entertained against them.

While England was unconnected with any dominions upon the continent, we had only our fleets to prevent and resist insults from other powers; whereas, by our happy union with Hanover, we have a body of above twenty thousand men, most excellent troops, to act whenever we think proper, without the least danger or expence to England, by which too particularly we bridle the north.

The dutchy of Bremen is of infinite advantage to England, as it supplies us with great quantities of linen, both for home consumption, and re-exportation, to the great ease of our linen manufacturers, who would otherwise be obliged to make ten times the quantity they do now.

Hanover may be likewise of use to us by its example, since there can not be a stronger instance of the advantages arising to a country, from a wise and frugal administration, than the great improvements of that electorate, under the successive governments of his late and his present majesty.

The whole revenues of the electorate, at the time of his late majesty's accession to the throne of these realms, did not amount to more than three hundred thousand pounds a year; and yet, soon afterwards the considerable purchase of Bremen and Verden were made, for above five hundred thousand pounds sterling. Not long after this, the number of troops, in the electorate, was raised much above what it was before thought able to maintain, and has continued ever since upon that high establishment.

Since his present majesty's accession to the electorate, several acquisitions have also been made; and the very last time his majesty visited those dominions, he bought in, at the price of above a hundred thousand pounds, the revenues of the postage of the electorate, which was an hereditary grant to the counts of Platen: and in August last his majesty concluded the purchase, and paid above thirty thousand pounds, for the fortrets and estates of Steinhorst. So

that upon the whole, notwithstanding that the expences for the current service of the year equal, at least, the revenue of the electorate, yet, by a prudent and frugal management, a million sterling at least has been laid out, over and above, in new acquisitions.

If such frugal means had been pursued, we should have been in a better condition than we now are. I cannot help recommending to the administration, here, to follow the example of their German brethren, to have spirit enough to act, and frugality enough to put the nation in a condition of doing it.

I am fir,

Your humble servant,

ANGLO-GERMANICUS.

XXI.

O L D E N G L A N D,

Or the CONSTITUTIONAL JOURNAL;

By Jeffrey Broad-Bottom, of Covent-Garden, Esq;*

SATURDAY, Feb. 5, 1743.

N^o I.

IT has generally been the custom with our hebdomadal and diurnal authors to preface their works with an account of their birth, parentage, and education, the company they keep, and fe-

* The resignation of fir Robert Walpole was not attended with that total change of men and measures, which had been expected. The Newcastle party kept their ground; and, by entering into a private negotiation with Mr. Pulteney and lord Carteret, succeeded in dividing the opposition. Very few of them were taken into the ministry; and lord Chesterfield, who, with several more, were excluded, highly complained of having been sacrificed by their friends, and lost no opportunity of expressing their resentment. This paper was undertaken with that view. It made a great deal of noise, and the supposed author and printer were taken into custody. Lord Chesterfield owned himself repeatedly to his chaplain the present bishop of Waterford, author of the first number; and I think there can be no doubt but that the third came from the same hand.

veral

veral other curious particulars relating to their own persons : but, as I am of opinion, that it is more proper for a writer to endeavour to recommend his business than his person to the public, I shall inform my reader of the one, and leave him to indulge the pleasure of conjecture as to the other.

We are told by critics, that definitions ought to be conceived in as plain, concise terms as possible. The world naturally expect that a public writer should, at his outset, acquaint them with his principles, views, and motives of writing ; therefore I intend, in compliance with this expectation, to acquaint my reader in very plain terms with those several particulars. This is fair ; if he likes the definition of each, he will be curious to know the several propositions deduced from them, and perhaps be prevailed on to encourage the doctrine arising upon the whole : if, on the other hand, he should dislike them, there is but little harm done, he knows what he is to expect, and will hereafter save both himself and me the mortification of any farther interviews with one another.

All experience convinces me, that 90 men out of 100, when they talk of forming principles, mean no more than embracing parties, and when they talk of supporting their party, mean serving their friends, and the service of their friends implies no more than consulting self-interest. By this gradation, principles are fitted to party, party degenerates into faction, and faction is reduced to self. For this reason, I openly declare that I think no honest man will implicitly embrace any party, so as to attach himself to the persons of those who form it. I am firmly of opinion, that both in the last and present age, this nation might have been equally well served either by whigs or tories ; and if she was not, it was not because their principles were contrary to her interest, but because their conduct was inconsistent with their principles.

To extend this view a little farther, I am entirely persuaded that, in the words, *our present happy establishment*, the happiness mentioned there is that of the subjects ; and that, if the establishment should make the prince happy and the subjects otherwise, it would be very justly termed our present unhappy establishment. I apprehend the nation did not think king James unworthy of the

crown

crown, merely that he might make way for the prince of Orange; nor can I conceive, that they ever precluded themselves from dealing by king William, in the same manner as they had done by king James, if he had done as much to deserve such a treatment. Neither can I in all my search find, that when the crown was settled in a hereditary line upon the present royal family, the people of Great Britain ever signed any formal instrument of recantation, by which they expressed their sorrow and repentance of what they had done against king James, and protested that they would never do so by any future prince, though reduced to the same melancholy necessity. I farther think, the people settled the crown upon the family of Hanover, neither from any opinion which they entertained of infallibility, in all the future princes which that illustrious house was to produce, nor from their being persuaded that the crown of this kingdom, in right of blood, belonged to that house, but because they thought that the government of those princes bade fairest to make themselves happy. They thought, that princes of that house having fewer connections with any interest upon the continent, destructive to that of Great Britain, would be more independent, and less incumbered with any foreign concern, and consequently more at liberty to act for the interest of this nation. From these considerations, as a subject of Great Britain, and as an honest man, I think myself bound, even in my individual capacity, to oppose all schemes destructive of those effects, which I, in my conscience, believe were the reasons that induced this free people, to raise the head of the family of Hanover, from being the youngest elector in Germany, to be one of the most powerful princes in Europe. I think, that there can be no treason equal to that of a minister, who would advise his majesty to sacrifice his great concerns to his little ones; because, as I think his majesty's virtues have firmly rivetted him in the hearts of his subjects, he is as sure of the crown of England as of the electorate of Hanover, and therefore every measure in favour of the latter, in prejudice of the former, is the blackest treason both against the king and the people.

Such are my principles, with regard to the general system of our constitution and government; as to the particular propositions to be deduced

deduced from these principles, they will be the subject of after disquisition.

I am next to account for the views of my writing. I had always observed, of the late very wicked ministers, that, though they did many infamous scandalous things, and put up with many gross affronts, in favour of foreign considerations, yet, I will do them the justice to say it, the odium arising from their measures always fell upon their own persons; and whatever the secret springs of their conduct might have been, yet we never saw the safety and profit of Hanoverian dominions, made in parliament itself, the immediate, open, and avowed cause of sacrificing the nearest and the dearest interests of this nation. Questions indeed were carried for Hessian troops, for extravagant subsidies, for inconsistent treaties and the like; but they never had the impudence, the insolence, or the wickedness, to bring Hanover and Great Britain, as two parties, before the bar of their own corruption, and then to pass a verdict, by which the latter was rendered a province to the former. It is against such, as can be found wicked enough to do this, that this paper is undertaken; it is undertaken against those, who have found the secret of acquiring more infamy in ten months, than their predecessors, with all the pains they took, could acquire in twenty years. It is intended to vindicate the honor of the crown of Great Britain, and to assert the interest of her people against all foreign considerations; to keep up the spirit of virtuous opposition to wicked people; to point out the means of completing the great end of the revolution; and, in short, to give the alarm upon any future attacks that may be made, either open or secret, of the government upon the constitution.

I am now to speak of the motives for an undertaking of this kind: these are many, but some of them perhaps not quite so proper to be committed to the public. We have seen the noble fruits of a twenty years opposition blasted by the connivance and treachery of a few, who, by all ties of gratitude and honor, ought to have cherished and preserved them to the people: but this disappointment ought to be so far from discouraging, that it should lend spirit and life to, a new opposition. The late one labored their point for a much longer term of years, and against many greater difficulties than any opposition

at present can be under any apprehensions of encountering. They became a majority, from a minority of not above eighty-seven or eighty-eight in all; they fought against an experienced general and a national purse, and the questions they opposed were more plausible in their nature, and less dangerous in their consequences, than any that have yet fallen within the system of their blundering successors. At present, the friends of their country, who have already declared themselves, have advantages which their predecessors could never compass, even after twenty years hard labor.

I know, that the conduct of those, who sneaked, and abandoned their principles, upon the late change of ministry, is sometimes made use of as an argument why all opposition must be fruitless, since all mankind, say they, employ it only as a means of their preferment, or the instrument of their revenge. This argument is in point of fact absolutely false, and in point of reasoning extremely inconclusive. To prove it false in fact, I need but appeal to an understanding reader's own memory; let him recollect the characters of those, who betrayed their party upon the late change, the light in which they stood with the public, and the estimation they held with their friends. Whoever shall take the pains to do this will own, that the part they acted could be no surprize, upon the discerning part of mankind. In all parties and bodies of men, even less numerous than those who formed the late opposition, there have always been found, and it has been always understood there are, men, whose virtue is too weak to stand the first shock either of temptation or danger: when such men give way, they leave a party stronger, because its rottenness is removed.

They, who fell off upon the late turn, are of two sorts; such as were never suspected of having virtue to resist temptation, and such as were never thought of consequence enough to deserve it. The surprize, therefore, is not that some fell, but that so many stood; but then how melancholy is the consideration, when we reflect, that there is a possibility, that the great concerns of the nation both at home and abroad may, by such an alteration of affairs, fall into the hands of those, who were either the reproach or scum of their party? What a prospect must this nation have, if in the most deci-

five

five conjuncture, as to the liberties of Europe, the management of foreign concerns should fall into the hands of a person of the following character.

A man, who, when in the opposition, even his sincerity could never beget confidence, nor his abilities esteem; whose learning is unrewarded with knowledge, and his experience with wisdom; discovering a haughtiness of demeanour, without any dignity of character; and possessing the lust of avarice, without knowing the right use of power and riches. His understanding blinded by his passions, his passions directed by his prejudices, and his prejudices ever hurrying into presumption; impatient even of an equal, yet ever requiring the correction of a superior. Right as to general maxims, but wrong in the application; and therefore always so intoxicated by the prospect of success, that he never is cool enough to concert the proper measures to attain it.

Should a man, I say, of such a character as this, ever come to be at the head of foreign affairs, the nation must be in greater danger than it was, in any time of the late administration, because her ruin will be more swift, disgraceful, and irretrievable. One might easily form a contrast to this character, and yet not deviate from a living resemblance. I could point out a person, without any other merit but the lowest species of prostitution, enjoying a considerable post, got by betraying his own party, without having abilities to be of use to any other: one, who had that plodding mechanical turn, which, with an opinion of his steadiness, was of service to the opposition, but can be of none to a ministry: one, whose talents were so low, that nothing but servile application could preserve him from universal contempt, and who, if he had persevered all his life in the interests of his country, might have had a chance of being remembered hereafter as a useful man. If there are such characters as those now existing, it is at least of some consolation to men of sense and virtue, that, if their inclinations lead them to views destructive of the interests and constitution of Great Britain, yet their abilities and reputation with all mankind are too mean for them to continue so long in power, as to be able to copy the late minister in procuring a safe retreat for his crimes.

Having said thus much, I declare that this paper shall cease, as soon as the motives on which it is undertaken have ceased; but till then it shall be carried on with all the spirit, which is consistent with decency, law, and the principles of this constitution. While the writers in it keep to these, they are determined to fear no consequences; because nothing can arise so melancholy to their own private interest, as an attempt to crush the liberty of writing must be to those of the public.

JEFFREY BROADBOTTOM.

XXII.

O L D E N G L A N D,

Or the CONSTITUTIONAL JOURNAL.

SATURDAY, February 19, 1743.

N^o 3.

I Scarce know a more delicate and difficult situation, than that of an author at his first appearance in public. He presents himself without introducer or credentials. He is his own ambassador, sent by himself to speak of himself and for himself; in which case it is almost impossible for him not to say either too little or too much. But the difficulties of a weekly author, or an author by retail, are still greater, as they are perpetual; for even should he get through his first audience with success, and be graciously received, the least slip in his subsequent conduct undoes the whole, and he is disgraced. He is bound over, as it were, from week to week, to his good behaviour, and a hundred thousand judges, not all of them learned or impartial as the twelve, are to determine whether he has forfeited his recognizances or not.

Aware

Aware of these dangers, I should not have encountered them, had not a full conviction of my own superior merit assured me that I was safe from them all. Armed with wit, judgment, erudition, and every other eminent qualification, I rush into the world, secure, like one of Homer's heroes, in armour given him by all the gods. I would not have said thus much of myself, for, I thank God, I am as free from vanity as ever any author was, and what I have said every author thinks, but that, as yet, I have nobody else to say it for me, and it was absolutely necessary that the public should not be ignorant of so important a truth. The first impression is often decisive; and the generality of mankind chuse to take an opinion ready made, even from the party interested, rather than be at the trouble of forming one of their own. In a very little time, the unanimous voice of my readers will, I dare say, render any farther intimations of this kind unnecessary.

As I foresee that this paper will occasion many questions, I shall here give the answers beforehand to such of them as occur to me, that the curious may know what they have to expect for the future.

"What is this new paper, this constitutional journal?" says some solid politician, whose unerring judgment has never suffered him to stray out of the beaten road of facts and dates. "Has it matter and sound reasoning? or is it only a paper of wit and fancy for the amusement of the frivolous? Is it whig or tory, for or against, the court? I will know a little more of it before I take it in." To this I answer and engage, that it shall have the most material of matter, and the most reasonable of reasoning. As to whig and tory, I know no real distinction between them; I look upon them as two brothers, who, in truth, mean the same thing, though they pursue it differently; and therefore, as Martia did in the like case, I declare myself for neither, yet for both. As to for, or against, the court, I only answer it shall be constitutional, and directed with regard to the court, as Trajan desired his sword might be, for him, or against him, as he deserved it.

"Here is a new paper come out, I am told," says some vigorous minister. "It is treason to be sure, but is it treason within or without the law? can I get at it? I do not like the title on it, especially

"cially at this time." With humble submission, I beg leave to assure his lordship, that I shall not write treason, because I never think treason. This royal family has not a more faithful and loyal subject in the kingdom than myself; and if I may borrow an expression I have long admired, it is under this royal family alone that I think we can live free, and that I hope we are determined to live free. His lordship shall most certainly never get at me, till it is criminal to be an Englishman; should that ever happen, indeed, he may possibly have the satisfaction of condemning me to a wheel-barrow in the mines of the Hartz*.

"This Jeffrey Broadbottom, this constitutional journal, is certainly levelled at us," says a conscious fallen apostate patriot to his fallen brethren in the Pandæmonium. "It is ten to one, but it is written by some of our old friends, and then we shall have all our former speeches, pamphlets, and declarations turned upon us, and our past conduct set over against our present. I wish we could buy it off; as soon as ever I can find out the author I will, for I have some reason to be pretty sure that there is no man who is not to be bought;" and then

Grinn'd horribly a ghastly smile.

Pray why do you think my paper is levelled at you? has your expiring conscience in its last words told you so? and has the same authority informed you that I am to be bought? You are mistaken in both. You may happen, indeed, sometimes to hitch in a paper, but you must be much more considerable than you are before you become the principal object of one; and you must stay till you are trusted with the disposal of money, and till I love it as well as you do, two things which will never happen, ere you will be able to buy me.

"What is this new paper, this broad-bottom Journal, I think they call it," says a fine woman in the genteel languor of her morning conversation, with some fine gentleman of distinguished taste and politeness: "Is it like the Tatlers and Spectators? has it wit or humor? or is it only upon those odious politics that one hears of all day long? in short, will it do with one's tea in a morning?"

* Mines belonging to certain German dominions.

"Not

“ Not with your tea, replies the fine gentleman, but incomparably
 “ well with your ale, if you ever take any ; not that I have read it
 “ yet, but, to say the truth, the title does not promise well. Jeffrey
 “ Broadbottom and John Trott seem to be synonymous terms.
 “ I dare say, there is nothing of what the French call *enjouement* in
 “ it ; and I take it to be a kind of heavy hot loaf to stay the stomachs
 “ of hungry politicians in a morning.” Have a little patience with
 me, ye illustrious rulers of the *beau monde*, ye tremendous judges,
 whose decisions are the final decrees of fashion and taste. I know
 your importance too well not to engage your favour if possible :
 though I shall be often, what you never are, serious, I shall be
 sometimes, what you are always, trifling. My lazy and my idle
 hours shall be sacred to the amusement of yours ; lighter subjects
 shall sometimes engage your attention and unbend mine, and the
 events of the polite world shall fill up the intervals of the busy one.

The universal question will be, who is the author, or supposed
 author, of this paper ? To which if I do not give an answer at pre-
 sent, I must beg leave to be excused ; being determined at present,
 to shine like phosphorus in the dark, and scatter my light from the
 impenetrable recesses of mine own closet. I will, for a time, at least,
 enjoy the sensible pleasure of unsought and unsuspected praise, and
 of hearing, wherever I go, my labors applauded, and severally ascribed
 to the most eminent wits and politicians of the age ; as they certainly
 will be, till I think proper to declare myself, and vindicate the glory
 due to me alone.

Having thus given not only an account, but some samples, of
 what the public may expect from me hereafter, I shall conclude this
 paper with a friendly and disinterested piece of advice, to such of
 my fellow subjects as are desirous of information, instruction, or
 entertainment. Secure my paper in time, for the demand will soon
 be too great to be complied with, and those who take it in first
 shall, as in justice they ought, have the preference afterwards.
 Mr. Purser, my printer, assures me it is impossible to print off above
 one hundred and ninety three thousand of these papers in a week ;
 a very small proportion to the number of those who will be sollici-
 tous to read them : for reckoning the people of this kingdom at
 3 eight

eight millions, and deducting half that number for young children, blind people, and men of quality, who either cannot or do not chuse to read, there will remain four millions of reading souls, of whom three millions eight hundred and seven thousand cannot have the satisfaction of reading this paper at the first hand, but must wait, with patience, for the future editions. I do not say this from any sordid view of interest, which I am infinitely above, for I most solemnly protest that I desire nothing for myself, and that the immense profits of this paper shall be all distributed among my friends, the printer, the publisher, compositor, press-men, flys, and devils, without quartering myself upon any one of them, or requiring any thing from them contrary to their former conduct, honor, or conscience.

JEFFREY BROADBOTTOM.

XXIII.

T H E W O R L D *.

SATURDAY, May 3, 1753.

Nº 18.

TH E following letter had appeared earlier in the world, if its length, or, what at present happens to be the same thing, its merit had not been so great. I have been trying to shorten it,

* This paper was set on foot by Mr. Moore, the ingenious author of the *Fables for the Female Sex*, and of the tragedy of the *Gamester*. He soon met with assistance from numerous correspondents, and, as he informs us in the dedication of one of his volumes to Soame Jenyns, esq; who was himself one of the writers in it, the *World* became *the only fashionable vehicle, in which men of rank and genius chose to convey their sentiments to the public*. Lord Chesterfield was one of these; but, as he sent his first paper to the publisher without any notice from whence it came, it underwent but a slight inspection, and was very near being excluded on account of its length. This neglect would have stopt any future communications; but fortunately lord Lyttelton happening to call at Mr. J. Dodsley's, this paper was shewn to him. He immediately knew the hand, and still more the manner of writing, of the noble author. Mr. Moore, being informed of this discovery, read the manuscript more attentively, discerned its beauties, and thought proper not only to publish it directly, but to introduce it with an apology for the delay, and a compliment to the author.

without

without robbing it of beauties; but, after many unsuccessful attempts, I find that the spirit of it is, as the human soul is imagined to be by some antient philosophers, *totus in toto, et totus in qualibet parte*. I have, therefore, changed the form of my paper, chusing rather to present my readers with an extraordinary half-sheet, than to keep from them any longer what was sent me for their instruction. At the same time, I must beg leave to say, that I shall never think myself obliged to repeat my complaisance, but to those of my correspondents, who, like the writer of this letter, can inform me of their grievances with all the elegance of wit.

“To Mr. FITZ-ADAM.

SIR,

I consider you as supplemental to the law of the land. I take your authority to begin, where the power of the law ends. The law is intended to stop the progress of crimes by punishing them; your paper seems calculated to check the course of follies by exposing them. May you be more successful in the latter than the law is in the former!

Upon this principle I shall lay my case plainly before you, and desire your publication of it as a warning to others. Though it may seem ridiculous to many of your readers, I can assure you, sir, that it is a very serious one to me, notwithstanding the ill-natured comfort which I might have, of thinking it of late a very common one.

I am a gentleman of a reasonable paternal estate in my county, and serve as knight of the shire for it. Having what is called a very good family-interest, my election incumbered my estate with a mortgage of only five thousand pounds; which I have not been able to clear, being obliged, by a good place which I have got since, to live in town, and in all the best company, nine months in the year. I married suitable to my circumstances. My wife wanted neither fortune, beauty, nor understanding. Discretion and good humor on her part, joined to good-nature and good-manners on mine,

mine, made us live comfortably together for eighteen years. One son and one daughter were our only children. We complied with custom in the education of both. My daughter learned some French and some dancing; and my son passed nine years at Westminster school, in learning the words of two languages, long since dead, and not yet above half-revived. When I took him away from school, I resolved to send him directly abroad, having been at Oxford myself. My wife approved of my design; but tacked a proposal of her own to it, which she urged with some earnestness. "My dear," said she, "I think you do very right to send George abroad; for I
" love a foreign education, though I shall not see the poor boy a
" great while: but, since we are to part for so long a time, why
" should we not take that opportunity of carrying him ourselves
" as far as Paris? The journey is nothing, very little farther than
" to our own house in the north; we shall save money by it, for
" every thing is very cheap in France; it will form the girl, who
" is of a right age for it; and a couple of months, with a good French,
" and dancing, master, will perfect her in both, and give her an air
" and manner that will help her off in these days, when husbands
" are not plenty, especially for girls with only five thousand pounds
" to their fortunes. Several of my acquaintance, who have lately
" taken trips to Paris, have told me, that to be sure we should take
" this opportunity of going there. Besides, my dear, as neither
" you nor I have ever been abroad, this little jaunt will amuse and
" even improve us; for it is the easiest thing in the world to get
" into all the best company at Paris."

My wife had no sooner ended her speech, which I easily perceived to be the result of meditation, than my daughter exerted all her little eloquence in seconding her mother's motion. "Ay, dear papa," said she, "let us go with brother to Paris; it will be the charmingest
" thing in the world; we shall see all the newest fashions there; I
" shall learn to dance of Marfeille*; in short, I shall be quite an-
" other creature after it. You see how my cousin Kitty was im-
" proved by going to Paris last year; I hardly knew her again when
" she came back; do, dear papa, let us go."

* Marcel, the most famous dancing master, at that time, at Paris. He is often mentioned in Lord Chesterfield's letters to his son.

The absurdity of the proposal struck me at first ; and I foresaw a thousand inconveniencies in it, though not half so many as I have since felt. However, knowing that direct contradiction, though supported by the best arguments, was not the likeliest method to convert a female disputant, I seemed a little to doubt, and contented myself with saying, “ that I was not, at first sight at least, sensible of
 “ the many advantages which they had enumerated, but that, on
 “ the contrary, I apprehended a great deal of trouble in the journey,
 “ and many inconveniencies in consequence of it ; that I had not
 “ observed many men of my age considerably improved by their
 “ travels, but that I had lately seen many women of hers, become
 “ very ridiculous by theirs ; and that for my daughter, as she had
 “ not a fine fortune, I saw no necessity of her being a fine lady.” Here the girl interrupted me, with saying, “ For that very reason, papa, I should be a fine lady. Being in fashion is often as
 “ good as being a fortune ; and I have known air, dress, and accomplishments, stand many a woman instead of a fortune.” “ Nay,
 “ to be sure,” added my wife, “ the girl is in the right in that ;
 “ and if with her figure she gets a certain air and manner, I cannot
 “ see why she may not reasonably hope to be as advantageously
 “ married, as lady Betty Townly, or the two miss Bellairs,
 “ who had none of them such good fortunes.” I found by all this, that the attack upon me was a concerted one, and that both my wife and daughter were strongly infected with that migrating distemper, which has of late been so epidemical in this kingdom, and which annually carries such numbers of our private families to Paris, to expose themselves there as English, and here, after their return, as French ; insomuch that I am assured that the French call those swarms of English, which now, in a manner, over-run France, a second incursion of the Goths and Vandals.

I endeavoured, as well as I could, to avert this impending folly, by delays and gentle persuasions, but in vain ; the attacks upon me were daily repeated, and sometimes enforced by tears. At last I yielded, from mere good-nature, to the joint importunities of a wife and daughter whom I loved ; not to mention the love of ease and domestic

metic quiet, which is, much oftener than we care to own, the true motive of many things that we either do or omit.

My consent being thus extorted, our setting out was pressed. The journey wanted no preparations; we should find every thing in France. My daughter, who spoke some French, and my son's governor, who was a Swift, were to be our interpreters upon the road; and when we came to Paris, a French servant or two would make all easy.

But, as if providence had a mind to punish our folly, our whole journey was a series of distresses. We had not sailed a league from Dover, before a violent storm arose, in which we had like to have been lost. Nothing could equal our fears but our sickness, which perhaps lessened them: at last we got into Calais, where the inexorable custom-house officers took away half the few things which we had carried with us. We hired some chaises, which proved to be old and shattered ones, and broke down with us at least every ten miles. Twice we were overturned, and some of us hurt, though there are no bad roads in France. At length, the sixth day, we got to Paris, where our banker had provided a very good lodging for us; that is, very good rooms, very well furnished, and very dirty. Here the great scene opens. My wife and daughter, who had been a good deal disheartened by our distresses, recovered their spirits, and grew extremely impatient for a consultation of the necessary tradespeople, when luckily our banker and his lady, informed of our arrival, came to make us a visit. He graciously brought me five thousand livres, which he assured me was not more than what would be necessary for our first setting out, as he called it; while his wife was pointing out to mine the most compendious method of spending three times as much. I told him, that I hoped that sum would be very near sufficient for the whole time; to which he answered coolly, "No, sir, nor six times that sum, if you propose, as to be sure you do, to appear here *bonnêtement*." This, I confess, startled me a good deal; and I called out to my wife, "Do you hear that, child?" She replied, unmoved, "Yes, my dear, but now that we are here, there is no help for it; it is but once, upon an extraordinary occasion, and one would not care to appear among strangers like
"scrubs."

“scrubs.” I made no answer to this solid reasoning, but resolved within myself to shorten our stay, and lessen our follies, as much as I could. My banker, after having charged himself with the care of procuring me a *carrosse de remise* and a *valet de place* for the next day, which in plain English is a hired coach and a footman, invited us to pass all the next day at his house, where he assured us that we should not meet with bad company. He was to carry me and my son before dinner to see the public buildings; and his lady was to call upon my wife and daughter to carry them to the genteest shops, in order to fit them out to appear *bonnêtement*. The next morning I amused myself very well with seeing, while my wife and daughter amused themselves still better by preparing themselves for being seen, till we met at dinner at our banker’s; who, by way of sample of the excellent company to which he was to introduce us, presented to us an Irish abbé, and an Irish captain of Clare’s; two attainted Scotch fugitives, and a young Scotch surgeon who studied midwifery at the *Hôtel Dieu*. It is true, he lamented that sir Harbottle Bumper and sir Clotworthy Guzzledown with their families, whom he had invited to meet us, happened unfortunately to have been engaged to go, and drink brandy at Nueilly. Though this company sounds but indifferently, and though we should have been very sorry to have kept it in London, I can assure you, sir, that it was the best we kept the whole time we were at Paris.

I will omit many circumstances, which gave me uneasiness, though they would probably afford some entertainment to your readers, that I may hasten to the most material ones.

In about three days, the several mechanics, who were charged with the care of disguising my wife and daughter, brought home their respective parts of this transformation, in order that they might appear *bonnêtement*. More than the whole morning was employed in this operation, for we did not sit down to dinner till near five o’clock. When my wife and daughter came at last into the eating-room, where I had waited for them at least two hours, I was so struck with their transformation, that I could neither conceal nor express my astonishment. “Now, my dear,” said my wife, “we can appear
“a little like christians.” “And strollers too,” replied I; “for such

“ have I seen, at Southwark-fair, the respectable Syfigambis, and
“ the lovely Parifatis. This cannot surely be serious !” “ Very se-
“ rious, depend upon it, my dear,” said my wife ; “ and pray, by
“ the way, what may there be ridiculous in it? No such Syfigambis
“ neither,” continued she ; “ Betty is but sixteen, and you know I
“ had her at four-and-twenty.” As I found that the name of Syfi-
gambis, carrying an idea of age along with it, was offensive to my
wife, I waved the parallel ; and, addressing myself in common to my
wife and daughter, I told them, “ I perceived that there was a painter
“ now at Paris, who colored much higher than Rigault, though he
“ did not paint near so like ; for that I could hardly have guessed
“ them to be the pictures of themselves.” To this they both answer-
ed at once, “ That red was not paint ; that no colour in the world was
“ *fard* but white, of which they protested they had none.” “ But
“ how do you like my *pompon*, papa !” continued my daughter : “ is
“ it not a charming one? I think it is prettier than mamma’s.” “ It
“ may, child, for any thing that I know ; because I do not know
“ what part of all this frippery thy *pompon* is.” “ It is this, papa,”
replied the girl, putting up her hand to her head, and shewing me,
in the middle of her hair, a complication of shreds and rags of vel-
vets, feathers and ribbands, stuck with false stones of a thousand
colors, and placed awry. “ But what hast thou done to thy hair,
“ child !” said I ; “ is it blue? is that painted too by the same emi-
“ nent hand, that colored thy cheeks ?” “ Indeed, papa,” answered
the girl, “ as I told you before, there is no painting in the case ; but
“ what gives my hair that bluish cast is the grey powder, which has
“ always that effect upon dark-colored hair, and sets off the com-
“ plexion wonderfully.” “ Grey powder, child !” said I, with some
surprize : “ grey hairs I knew were venerable ; but till this mo-
“ ment I never knew that they were genteel.” “ Extremely so,
“ with some complexions,” said my wife ; “ but it does not suit with
“ mine, and I never use it.” “ You are much in the right, my dear,
replied I, “ not to play with edge-tools. Leave it to the girl.” This,
which perhaps was too hastily said, and seemed to be a second part of
the Syfigambis, was not kindly taken ; my wife was silent all dinner-
time, and, I vainly hoped, ashamed. My daughter, drunk with dress

and sixteen, kept up the conversation to herself, till the long-wished-for moment of the opera came, which separated us, and left me time to reflect upon the extravagances, which I had already seen, and upon the still greater, which I had but too much reason to dread.

From this period, to the time of our return to England, every day produced some new and shining folly, and some improper expence. Would to God that they had ended as they began, with our journey ! but unfortunately we have imported them all. I no longer understand, or am understood, in my family. I hear of nothing but *le bon ton*. A French valet de chambre, who I am told is an excellent servant and fit for every thing, is brought over to curl my wife," and my daughter's hair, to *mount a dessert*, as they call it, and occasionally to *announce visits*. A very flatteringly, dirty, but at the same time a very genteel French maid, is appropriated to the use of my daughter. My meat too is as much disguised in the dressing by a French cook, as my wife and my daughter are by their red, their pompons, their scraps of dirty gauze, flimsy fattins, and black callicoes ; not to mention their affected broken English, and mangled French, which jumbled together compose their present language. My French and English servants quarrel daily, and fight, for want of words to abuse one another. My wife is become ridiculous, by being translated into French ; and the version of my daughter will, I dare say, hinder many a worthy English gentleman from attempting to read her. My expence, and consequently my debt, increases ; and I am made more unhappy by follies, than most other people are by crimes.

Should you think fit to publish this my case, together with some observations of your own upon it, I hope it may prove a useful Pharos, to deter private English families from the coasts of France.

I am, S I R,

Your very humble servant,

R. D."

My

My correspondent has said enough to caution English gentlemen against carrying their wives and daughters to Paris ; but I shall add a few words of my own, to dissuade the ladies themselves from any inclination to such a vagary. In the first place, I assure them, that of all French ragouts there is none, to which an Englishman has so little appetite, as an English lady served up to him *à la Française*. Next I beg leave to inform them, that the French taste in beauty is so different from ours, that a pretty English woman at Paris, instead of meeting with that admiration which her vanity hopes for, is considered only as a handsome corpse ; and if, to put a little life into her, some of her compassionate friends there should persuade her to lay on a great deal of *rouge*, in English called paint, she must continue to wear it to extreme old age ; unless she prefers a spot of real yellow, the certain consequence of paint, to an artificial one of red. And lastly, I propose it to their consideration, whether the delicacy of an English lady's mind may not partake of the nature of some high-flavoured wines, which will not admit of being carried abroad, though, under right management, they are admirable at home.

 XXIV.

T H E W O R L D.

THURSDAY, June 14, 1753.

N^o 24.

I SHALL not at present enter into the great question between the antients and the moderns ; much less shall I presume to decide upon a point of that importance, which has been the subject of debate among the learned from the days of Horace down to ours. To make my court to the learned, I will lament the gradual decay of human nature, for these last sixteen centuries ; but at the same time I will do justice to my contemporaries, and give them their due share

of praise, where they have either struck out new inventions, or improved, and brought old ones to perfection. Some of them I shall now mention.

The most zealous and partial advocate for the antients will not, I believe, pretend to dispute the infinite superiority of the moderns in the art of healing. Hippocrates, Celsus, and Galen, had no specifics. They rather endeavoured to relieve, than pretended to cure. As for the astonishing cures of Æsculapius, I do not put them into the account; they are to be ascribed to his power, not to his skill: he was a god, and divinity was his *NOSTRUM*. But how prodigiously have my ingenious contemporaries extended the bounds of medicine! What *nostrums*, what specifics, have they not discovered! Collectively considered, they insure not only perfect health, but, by a necessary consequence, immortality; insomuch that I am astonished, when I still read in the weekly bills the great number of people, who chuse to die of such and such distempers, for every one of which there are infallible and specific cures, not only advertised but attested in all the news-papers.

When the lower sort of Irish, in the most uncivilized parts of Ireland, attend the funeral of a deceased friend or neighbour, before they give the last parting howl, they expostulate with the dead body, and reproach him with having died, notwithstanding that he had an excellent wife, a milch cow, seven fine children, and a competency of potatoes. Now though all these, particularly the excellent wife, are very good things in a state of perfect health, they cannot, as I apprehend, be looked upon as preventive either of sickness or of death; but with how much more reason may we expostulate with, and censure, those of our contemporaries, who, either from obstinacy or incredulity, die in this great metropolis, or indeed in this kingdom, when they may prevent or cure, at a trifling expence, not only all distempers, but even old age and death itself! The *RENOVATING ELIXIR* *infallibly restores pristine youth and vigor, be the patient ever so old and decayed*, and that without loss of time or business; whereas the same operation among the antients was both tedious and painful, as it required a thorough boiling of the patient.

The

The most inflammatory and intrepid fevers fly at the first discharge of Dr. James's powder, and a drop or pill of the celebrated Mr. Ward corrects all the malignity of Pandora's box.

Ought not every man of great birth and estate, who for many years has been afflicted with the POSTEROMANIA, or rage of having posterity, a distemper very common among persons of that sort, ought he not, I say, to be ashamed of having no issue male to perpetuate his illustrious name and title, when, for so small a sum as three-and-six-pence, he and his lady might be supplied with a sufficient quantity of the VIVIFYING DROPS, which infallibly cure imbecillity in men, and barrenness in women, though of never so long standing?

Another very great discovery of the moderns, in the art of healing, is the infallible cure of the king's evil, though never so inveterate, by only the touch of a lawful king, the right heir of Adam; for that is essentially necessary. The antients were unacquainted with this inestimable secret, and even Solomon the son of David, the wisest of kings, knew nothing of the matter. But our British Solomon, king James the first, a son of David also, was no stranger to it, and practised it with success. This fact is sufficiently proved by experience; but if it wanted any corroborating testimony, we have that of the ingenious Mr. Carte, who, in his incomparable history of England, asserts, and that in a marginal note too *, which is always more material than the text, that he knew SOMEBODY, who was radically cured of a most obstinate king's evil, by the touch of SOMEBODY. As our sagacious historian does not even intimate that this SOMEBODY took any thing of the other SOMEBODY for the cure, it were to be wished that he had named this SOMEBODY, and his place of abode, "for the benefit of the poor †," who are now reduced, and at some expence, to have recourse to Mr. Vickers the clergyman. Besides I fairly confess myself to be personally interested in this enquiry, since this SOMEBODY must necessarily be the right heir of Adam, and consequently I must have the honor of being related to him.

* This unlucky note (which Mr. Carte was over persuaded by some of his friends to insert) eventually destroyed the credit of a history of which great expectations had been formed.

† Thus the great dean of St. Patrick's gave the world a singular satire, in 1713, under the title of "Mr. Collins's discourse of free-thinking; put into English, by way of abstract, for the use of the poor."

Our laborious neighbours and kinsmen, the Germans, are not without their inventions and happy discoveries in the art of medicine; for they laugh at a wound through the heart, if they can but apply their powder of sympathy---not to the wound itself, but to the sword or bullet that made it.

Having now, at least in my own opinion, fully proved the superiority of the moderns over the antients in the art of healing, I shall proceed to some other particulars, in which my cotemporaries will as justly claim, and I hope be allowed, the preference.

The ingenious Mr. Warburton, in his *divine legation of Moses*, very justly observes, that hieroglyphics were the beginning of letters, but at the same time he very candidly allows, that it was a very troublesome and uncertain method of communicating one's ideas; as it depended in a great measure on the writer's skill in drawing, an art little known in those days, and as a stroke too much or too little, too high or too low, might be of the most dangerous consequence, in religion, business, or love. Cadmus removed this difficulty by his invention of unequivocal letters, but then he removed it too much; for these letters or marks, being the same throughout, and fixed alphabetically, soon became generally known, and prevented that secrecy, which in many cases was to be wished for. This inconvenience suggested to the antients the invention of cryptography and steganography, or a mysterious and unintelligible way of writing, by the help of which none but corresponding parties, who had the key, could decypher the matter. But human industry soon refined upon this too; the art of decyphering was discovered, and the skill of the decypherer baffled all the labor of the cypherer. The secrecy of all literary correspondence became precarious, and neither business nor love could any longer be safely trusted to paper. Such for a considerable time was the unhappy state of letters, till the BEAU MONDE, an inventive race of people, found out a new kind of cryptography, or steganography, unknown to the antients, and free from some of their inconveniencies. Lovers in general made use of it, controversial writers commonly, and ministers of state sometimes, in the most important dispatches. It was writing in such an unintelligible manner, and with such obscurity, that the corresponding

parties themselves neither understood, nor even guessed at, each other's meaning ; which was a most effectual security against all the accidents, to which letters are liable by being either mislaid or intercepted. But this method too, though long pursued, was also attended with some inconveniencies. It frequently produced mistakes, by scattering false lights upon that friendly darkness, so propitious to business and love. But our inventive neighbours, the French, have very lately removed all these inconveniencies, by a happy discovery of a new kind of paper, as pleasing to the eye, and as conducive to the dispatch, the clearness, and at the same time the secrecy, of all literary correspondence. My worthy friend Mr. Doddsley lately brought me a sample of it, upon which, if I mistake not, he will make very considerable improvements, as my countrymen often do upon the inventions of other nations. This sheet of paper I conjectured to be the ground-work and principal material of a tender and passionate letter from a fine gentleman to a fine lady ; though in truth it might very well be the whole letter itself. At the top of the first page, was delineated a lady, with very red cheeks and a very large hoop, in the fashionable attitude of knotting, and of making a very genteel French curtesy. This evidently appears to stand for MADAM, and saves the time and trouble of writing it. At the bottom of the third page, was painted a very fine well-dressed gentleman, with his hat under his left arm, and his right hand upon his heart, bowing most respectfully low ; which single figure, by an admirable piece of brachygraphy or short-hand, plainly conveys this deep sense, and stands instead of these many words, " I have the honor to be, with the tenderest and warmest sentiments, madam, your most inviolably attached, faithful humble servant." The margin of the paper, which was about half an inch broad, was very properly decorated with all the emblems of triumphant beauty and tender suffering passion. Groups of lilies, roses, pearls, corals, suns, and stars, were intermixed with chains, bearded shafts, and bleeding hearts. Such a sheet of paper, I confess, seems to me to be a complete letter ; and I would advise all fine gentlemen, whose time I know is precious, to avail themselves of this admirable invention : it will save them a great deal of time, and perhaps some thought, and

I cannot help thinking, that, were they even to take the trouble of filling up the paper with the tenderest sentiments of their hearts, or the most shining flights of their fancy, they would add no energy or delicacy to those types and symbols of the lady's conquest, and their own captivity and sufferings.

These blank letters, if I may call them so, when they convey so much, will mock the jealous curiosity of husbands and fathers, who will in vain hold them to the fire to elicit the supposed juice of lemon, and upon whom they may afterwards pass for a piece of innocent pleasantry.

The dullest of my readers must, I am sure, by this time be aware, that the utility of this invention extends, *mutatis mutandis*, to whatever can be the subject of letters, and with much less trouble, and much more secrecy, propriety and elegance, than the old way of writing.

A painter of but moderate skill and fancy may, in a very short time, have reams of ready-painted paper by him, to supply the demands of the statesman, the divine, and the lover. And I think it my duty to inform the public, that my good friend Mr. Doddsley, who has long complained of the decay of trade, and who loves, with a prudent regard to his own interest, to encourage every useful invention, is at this time learning to paint with most unwearied diligence and application: and I make no doubt, but that, in a very little time, he will be able to furnish all sorts of persons with the very best ready-made goods of that kind. I warned him indeed against providing any for the two learned professions of the law and physic, which I apprehend would lie upon his hands: one of them being already in possession, to speak in their own style, of a more brachygraphical, cryptographical, and steganographical secret, in writing their WARRANTS; and the other not willingly admitting brevity in any shape. Otherwise, what innumerable skins of parchment and lines of writing might be saved in a marriage-settlement, for instance, if the first fourteen or fifteen sons, the supposed future issue, LAWFULLY TO BE BEGOTTEN of that happy marriage, and upon whom the settlement is successively made, were to be painted every one a size less than the other upon one skin of parchment, instead of being enumerated

upon one hundred, according to propriety of birth and seniority of age; and moreover the elder, by an happy *pleonasmus*, always to take before, and be preferred to, the younger! but this useful alteration is more to be wished than expected, for reasons which I do not at present think proper to mention.

I am sensible that the government may possibly object, that I am suggesting to its enemies a method of carrying on their treasonable correspondences, with much more secrecy than formerly. But, as my intentions are honest, I should be very sorry to have my loyalty suspected; and when I consider the zeal, and at the same time the ingenuity, of the Jacobites, I am convinced that their letters in this new method will be so charged with groves of oaken boughs, white roses and thistles interwoven, that their meaning will not be obscure, and consequently no danger will arise to the government from this new and excellent invention.

 XXV.

T H E W O R L D .

 T H U R S D A Y , June 21, 1753. N^o 25.

I HAVE the pleasure of informing my fair correspondent, that her petition contained in the following letter is granted. I wish I could as easily restore to her what she has lost. But to a mind like hers, so elevated! so harmonized! time and the consciousness of so much purity of intention will bring relief. It must always afford her matter of the most pleasing reflection, that her soul had no participation with her material part in that particular act, which she appears to mention with so tender regret. But it is not my intention to anticipate her story, by endeavouring to console her. Her letter, I hope, will caution all young ladies of equal virtue with herself

self against that excess of complaisance, with which they are sometimes too willing to entertain their lovers.

“ TO MR. FITZ-ADAM.

S I R,

I HAVE not the least ill-will to your friend Mr. Doddsley, whom I never saw in my life ; but I address myself to your equity and good-nature, for a small share only of your favour and recommendation in that new and valuable branch of trade, to which you have informed the public he is now applying himself, and which I hope you will not think it reasonable that he should monopolize. I mean that admirable short and secret method of communicating one's ideas, by ingenious emblems and representations of the pencil, instead of the vulgar and old method of letters by the pen. Give me leave, sir, to state my case and my qualifications to you : I am sure you will decide with justice.

I am the daughter of a clergyman, who, having had a very good living, gave me a good education, and left me no fortune. I had naturally a turn to reading and drawing : my father encouraged and assisted me in the one, allowed me a master to instruct me in the other, and I made an uncommon progress in them both. My heart was tender, and my sentiments were delicate ; perhaps too much so for my rank in life. This disposition led me to study chiefly those treasures of divine honor, spotless virtue, and refined sentiment, the voluminous romances of the last century : sentiments, from which, I thank heaven, I have never deviated. From a sympathizing softness of soul, how often have I wept over those affecting distresses ! how have I shared the pangs of the chaste and lovely Mariamne upon the death of the tender, the faithful Tiridates ! and how has my indignation been excited, at the unfaithful and ungenerous historical misrepresentations of the gallant first Brutus, who was undoubtedly the tenderest lover that ever lived ! My drawings took the same elegant turn with my reading. I painted all the
most

most moving and tender stories of charming Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; not without sometimes mingling my tears with my colors. I presented some fans of my own painting to some ladies in the neighbourhood, who were pleased to commend both the execution and the designs. The latter I always took care should be moving, and at the same time irreproachably pure; and I found means even to represent, with unblemished delicacy, the unhappy passion of the unfortunate *Pasiphaë*. With this turn of mind, this softness of soul, it will be supposed that I loved. I did so, sir; tenderly and truly I loved. Why should I disown a passion, which, when clarified as mine was from the impure dregs of sensuality, is the noblest and most generous sentiment of the human breast? O! that the false heart of the dear deceiver, whose perfidious vows betrayed mine, had been but as pure! The traitor, was quartered, with his troop of dragoons in the town where I lived. His person was a happy compound of the manly strength of a hero, and all the softer graces of a lover; and I thought that I discovered in him, at first sight, all the courage and all the tenderness of *Oroondates*. My figure, which was not bad, it seems, pleased him as much. He sought and obtained my acquaintance. Soon by his eyes, and soon after by his words, he declared his passion to me. My blushes, my confusion, and my silence, too plainly spoke mine. Good gods! how tender were his words! how languishingly soft his eyes! with what ardor did he press my hand; a trifling liberty, which one cannot decently refuse, and for which refusal there is no precedent! Sometimes he addressed me in the moving words of *Varanes*, sometimes in the tender accents of *Castalio*, and sometimes in the warmer language of *Juba*; for he was a very good scholar. In short, sir, a month was not past before he pressed for what he called a proof of my passion. I trembled at the very thought, and reproached him with the indelicacy of it. He persisted, and I, in compliance with custom only, hinted previous marriage: he urged love, and I was not vulgar enough to refuse to the man I tenderly loved, the proof he required of my passion. I yielded, it is true; but it was to sentiment, not to desire. A few months gave me reason to suspect that his passion was not quite so pure: and within the year, the perfidious

dious wretch convinced me that it had been merely sensual: for, upon the removal of his troop to other quarters, he took a cold leave of me, and contented himself with saying, that in the course of quarters he hoped to have the pleasure, some time or other, of seeing me again. You, Mr. Fitz-Adam, if you have any elegancy of soul, as I dare say you have, can better guess than I can express, the agonies I felt, and the tears I shed upon this occasion: but all in vain; vain as the thousand tender letters which I have written to him since, and to which I have received no answer. As all this passed within the course of ten months, I had but one child; which dear pledge of my first and only love I now maintain, at the expence of more than half of what I have to subsist upon myself.

Having now, as I hope, prepared your compassion, and proved my qualification, I proceed to the prayer of my petition; which is, that you will be pleased to recommend me to the public, with all that authority which you have so justly acquired, for a share of this new and beneficial branch of trade, I mean no farther than the just bounds, to which the female province may extend. Let Mr. Doddsley engross all the rest, with my best wishes. Though I say it, I believe nobody has a clearer notion of the theory of delicate sentiments than I have; and I have already a considerable stock in hand, of these allegorical and emblematical paintings, applicable to almost every situation, in which a woman of sense, virtue, and delicacy, can find herself. I indulged my fancy in painting them, according to the various dispositions of mind, which my various fortunes produced. I think I may say without vanity, that I have made considerable improvements in the celebrated map of the realms of love in Clelia. I have adorned the banks of the gentle and crystalline Tender, with several new villages and groves; and added expression to the pleasing melancholic groves of sighs and tender cares. I have whole quires, painted in my happier moments, of hearts united and crowned, fluttering Cupids, wanton zephyrs, constant and tender doves, myrtle bowers, banks of jessamine and tuberoze, and shady groves. These will require very little filling up, if any, from ladies who are in the transported situation of growing loves. For the forsaken and complaining fair, with whom, alas! I too fatally sympathize, I have ten-

der.

der willows drooping over murmuring brooks, and gloomy walks of mournful cypresses and solemn yew. In short, sir, I either have by me, or will forthwith provide, whatever can convey the most perfect ideas of elegant friendship, or pure, refined, and sentimental passion. But I think it necessary to give notice, that if any ladies would express any indelicate ideas of love, or require any types or emblems of sensual joy, they must not apply to,

SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant,

PARTHENISSA."

XXVI.

T H E W O R L D .

SATURDAY, July 19, 1753.

N^o 29.

SIR,

I TROUBLED you some time ago with an account of my distress, arising from the female part of my family. I told you that, by an unfortunate trip to Paris, my wife and daughter had run stark French, and I wish I could tell you now that they were perfectly recovered: but all I can say is, that the violence of the symptoms seems to abate, in proportion as the cloaths that inflamed them wear out.

My present misfortune flows from a direct contrary cause, and affects me much more sensibly. The little whims, affectations, and delicacies of ladies may be both ridiculous and disagreeable, especially to those who are obliged to be at once the witnesses and the martyrs of them; but they are not evils to be compared with the obstinate wrong-headedness, the idle and illiberal turn, of an only son, which is unfortunately my case.

I acquainted

I acquainted you, that in the education of my son I had conformed to the common custom of this country, perhaps I conformed to it too much and too soon; and that I carried him to Paris, from whence, after six months stay, he was to go upon his travels, and take the usual tour of Italy and Germany. I thought it very necessary for a young man, though not for a young lady, to be well acquainted with the languages, the manners, the characters, and the constitutions, of other countries; the want of which I experienced and lamented in myself. In order to enable him to keep good company, I allowed him more than I could conveniently afford; and I trusted him to the care of a Swiss governor, a gentleman of some learning, good-sense, good-nature, and good-manners. But how cruelly I am disappointed in all these hopes, what follows will inform you.

During his stay at Paris, he only frequented the worst English company there, with whom he was unhappily engaged in two or three scrapes, which the credit and the good-nature of the English ambassador helped him out of. He hired a low Irish wench, whom he drove about in a hired chaise, to the great honor of himself, his family, and his country. He did not learn one word of French, and never spoke to Frenchman or Frenchwoman, excepting some vulgar and injurious epithets, which he bestowed upon them in very plain English. His governor very honestly informed me of this conduct, which he tried in vain to reform, and advised their removal to Italy, which accordingly I immediately ordered. His behaviour there will appear in the truest light to you, by his own and his governor's last letters to me, of which I here give you faithful copies.

" Rome, May the 3d, 1753.

" SIR,

" In the six weeks that I passed at Florence, and the week I stayed
 " at Genoa, I never had time to write to you, being wholly taken up
 " with seeing things, of which the most remarkable is the steeple
 " of Pisa: it is the oddest thing I ever saw in my life, it stands all
 " awry; I wonder it does not tumble down. I met with a great

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" many

“ many of my countrywomen, and we live together very sociably.
“ I have been here now a month, and will give you an account of
“ my way of life. Here are a great many agreeable English gentlemen ; we are about nine or ten as smart bucks as any in England. We constantly breakfast together, and then either go and see fights, or drive about the outlets of Rome in chaises ; but the horses are very bad, and the chaises do not follow well. We meet before dinner at the English coffee-house ; where there is a very good billiard-table, and very good company. From thence we go and dine together by turns at each other's lodgings. Then, after a chearful glass of claret, for we have made a shift to get some here, we go to the coffee-house again ; from thence to supper, and so to bed. I do not believe that these Romans are a bit like the old Romans ; they are a parcel of thin-gutted, sniveling, cringing dogs, and I verily believe that our set could thresh forty of them. We never go among them ; it would not be worth while : besides, we none of us speak Italian, and none of those signors speak English ; which shews what sort of fellows they are. We saw the pope go by the other day in a procession, but we resolved to assert the honor of old England ; so we neither bowed, nor pulled off our hats, to the old rogue. Provisions and liquor are but bad here ; and, to say the truth, I have not had one thorough good meal's meat since I left England. No longer ago than last Sunday, we wanted to have a good plumb-pudding ; but we found the materials difficult to provide, and were obliged to get an English footman to make it. Pray, sir, let me come home ; for I cannot find that one is a jot the better for seeing all these outlandish places and people. But if you will not let me come back, for God's sake, sir, take away the impertinent *mounseer* you sent with me. He is a considerable expence to you, and of no manner of service to me. All the English here laugh at him, he is such a prig. He thinks himself a fine gentleman, and is always plaguing me to go into foreign companies, to learn foreign languages, and to get foreign manners ; as if I were not to live and die in old England, and as if good English acquaintance would
“not

“ not be much more useful to me than outlandish ones. Dear fir,
 “ grant me this request, and you shall ever find me

“ Your most dutiful son,

“ G. D.”

The following is a very honest and sensible letter, which I received at the same time from my son's governor.

“ Rome, May the 3d, 1753.

“ SIR,

“ I think myself obliged in conscience to inform you, that the
 “ money you are pleased to allow me, for my attendance upon your
 “ son, is absolutely thrown away; since I find, by melancholy expe-
 “ rience, that I can be of no manner of use to him. I have tried
 “ all possible methods to prevail with him to answer, in some degree
 “ at least, your good intentions in sending him abroad; but all in
 “ vain: and in return for my endeavours, I am either laughed at
 “ or insulted. Sometimes I am called a beggarly French dog, and
 “ bid to go back to my own country and eat my frogs; and some-
 “ times I am *mounseer ragout*, and told that I think myself a very
 “ fine gentleman. I daily represent to him, that, by sending him
 “ abroad, you meant that he should learn the languages, the man-
 “ ners, and characters, of different countries, and that he should
 “ add to the classical education which you had given him at home,
 “ a knowledge of the world, and the genteel easy manners of a
 “ man of fashion, which can only be acquired by frequenting the
 “ best companies abroad. To which he only answers me with a
 “ sneer of contempt, and says, “ so be like-ye, ha!” I would
 “ have connived at the common vices of youth, if they had been
 “ attended with the least degree of decency or refinement; but I
 “ must not conceal from you, that your son's are of the lowest and
 “ most degrading kind, and avowed in the most public and inde-
 “ cent manner. I have never been able to persuade him to deliver

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“ the

" the letters of recommendation which you procured him ; he says,
 " he does not desire to keep such company. I advised him to take
 " an Italian master ; which he flatly refused, saying that he should
 " have time enough to learn Italian, when he went back to England.
 " But he has taken, of himself, a music master to teach him to play
 " upon the German flute, upon which he throws away two or three
 " hours every day. We spend a great deal of money, without do-
 " ing you or ourselves any honor by it ; though your son, like
 " the generality of his countrymen, values himself upon the ex-
 " pence, and looks upon all foreigners, who are not able to make so
 " considerable a one, as a parcel of beggars and scoundrels, speaks
 " of them, and, if he spoke to them, would treat them, as such.

" If I might presume to advise you, sir, it should be to order
 " us home forthwith. I can assure you that your son's morals and
 " manners will be in much less danger under your own inspection
 " at home, than they can be under mine abroad ; and I defy him
 " to keep worse English company in England than he now keeps
 " here. But, whatever you may think fit to determine concerning
 " him, I must humbly insist upon my own dismissal, and upon
 " leave to assure you in person of the respect, with which I have the
 " honor to be,

" S I R,

" Your, &c."

I have complied with my son's request, in consequence of his
 governor's advice, and have ordered him to come home immediately.
 But what shall I do with him here, where he is but too likely to be
 encouraged and countenanced in these illiberal and ungentleman-like
 manners ? My case is surely most singularly unfortunate ; to be
 plagued on one side by the polite and elegant foreign follies of my
 wife and daughter, and on the other by the unconforming obsti-
 nacy, the low vulgar excesses, and the porter-like manners, of my
 son.

Perhaps my fortune may suggest to you some thoughts upon
 the methods of education in general, which, conveyed to the
 public

public through your paper, may prove of public use. It is in that view singly that you have had this second trouble from,

SIR,

Your most humble servant and constant reader,

R. D.

I allow the case of my worthy correspondent to be compassionate, but I cannot possibly allow it to be singular. The public places daily prove the contrary too plainly. I confess I oftener pity than blame the errors of youth, when I reflect upon the fundamental errors generally committed by their parents in their education. Many totally neglect, and many mistake it. The ancients began the education of their children, by forming their hearts and their manners. They taught them the duty of men and of citizens, we teach them the languages of the ancients, and leave their morals and manners to shift for themselves.

As for the modern species of human bucks, I impute their brutality to the negligence or the fondness of their parents. It is observed in parks, among their betters, the real bucks, that the most troublesome and mischievous are those who were bred up tame, fondled, and fed out of the hand, when fawns. They abuse, when grown up, the indulgence they met with in their youth; and their familiarity grows troublesome and dangerous with their horns.

THE

XXVII.

T H E W O R L D .

SATURDAY, Dec. 7, 1753.

N^o 49.

THOUGH I am an old fellow, I am neither four nor fifty enough yet, to be a snarling *laudator temporis acti*, and to hate or despise the present age because it is the present. I cannot, like many of my cotemporaries, rail at the wonderful degeneracy and corruption of these times, nor, by sneering compliments to the ingenious, the sagacious, moderns, intimate that they have not common sense. I really do not think that the present age is marked out by any new and distinguished vices and follies, unknown to former ages. On the contrary, I am apt to suspect that human nature was always very like what it is at this day, and that men, from the time of my great progenitors down to this moment, have always had in them the same seeds of virtue and vice, wisdom and folly, of which only the modes have varied, from climate, education, and a thousand other conspiring causes.

Perhaps this uncommon good-humour and indulgence of mine to my cotemporaries may be owing to the natural benignity of my constitution, in which I can discover no particles of envy or ill-nature, even to my rivals, both in fame and profit, the weekly writers; or perhaps to the superiority of my parts, which every body must acknowledge, and which places me infinitely above the mean sentiments of envy and jealousy. But, whatever may be the true cause, which probably neither my readers nor I shall ever discover with precision, this at least is certain, that the present age has not only the honor and pleasure of being extremely well with me, but, if I dare say so, better than any that I have yet either heard or read of. Both vices and virtues are smoothed and softened by manners, and though they exist as they ever have done, yet the former are become less barbarous, and the latter less rough; insomuch that I am as glad as Mr. Voltaire can be, that I have the good fortune to live in

in this age, independently of that interested consideration, that it is rather better to be still alive, than only to have lived.

This my benevolence to my countrymen and cotemporaries ought to be esteemed still the more meritorious in me, when I shall make it appear that no man's merit has been less attended to or rewarded than mine : and nothing produces ill-humor, rancour, and malevolence so much, as neglected and unrewarded merit.

The utility of my weekly labors is evident, and their effects, wherever they are read, prodigious. They are equally calculated, I may say it without vanity, to form the heart, improve the understanding, and please the fancy. Notwithstanding all which, the ungrateful public does not take above three thousand of them a week, though, according to Mr. Maitland's calculation of the number of inhabitants in this great metropolis, they ought to take two hundred thousand of them, supposing only five persons, and one paper to each family ; and allowing seven millions of souls in the rest of the kingdom, I may modestly say, that one million more of them ought to be taken and circulated in the country. The profit arising from the sale of twelve hundred thousand papers, would be some encouragement to me to continue these my labors, for the benefit of mankind.

I have not yet had the least intimation from the ministers, that they have any thoughts of calling me to their assistance, and giving me some considerable employment of honor and profit ; and, having had no such intimations, I am justly apprehensive that they have no such intentions : such intimations being always long previous to the performance, often to the intentions.

Nor have I been invited, as I confess I expected to be, by any considerable borough or county, to represent them in the next parliament, and to defend their liberties, and the Christian religion, against the ministers and the Jews. But I think I can account for this seeming flight, without mortification to my vanity and self-love ; my name being a pentateuch name, which, in these suspicious and doubtful times, favours too strongly of Judaism ; though, upon the faith of a Christian, I have not the least tendency to it ; and I must do Mrs. Fitz-Adam, who I own has some influence over me, the
justice

justice to say, that she has the utmost horror for those sanguinary rites and ceremonies.

Notwithstanding all this ill usage, for every man may be said to be ill used, who is not rewarded according to his own estimation of his own merit, which I feel and lament, I cannot however call the present age names, and brand it with degeneracy ; nature, as I have already observed, being always the same, modes only varying. With modes, the signification of words also varies and, in the course of those variations, convey ideas very different from those, which they were originally intended to express. I could give numberless instances of this kind, but at present I shall content myself with this single one.

The word HONOR, in its proper signification, doubtless implies the united sentiments of virtue, truth, and justice, carried by a generous mind beyond those mean moral obligations, which the laws require, or can punish the violation of. A TRUE MAN OF HONOR will not content himself with the literal discharge of the duties of a man and a citizen ; he raises and dignifies them into magnanimity. He gives where he may with justice refuse, he forgives where he may with justice resent, and his whole conduct is directed by the noble sentiments of his own unvitiated heart ; surer and more scrupulous guides than the laws of the land, which, being calculated for the generality of mankind, must necessarily be more a restraint upon vices in general, than an invitation and reward of particular virtues. But these extensive and compound notions of HONOR have been long contracted, and reduced to the single one of personal courage. Among the Romans, HONOR meant no more than contempt of dangers and death in the service, whether just or unjust, of their country. Their successors and conquerors, the Goths and Vandals, who did not deal much in complex ideas, simplified those of HONOR, and reduced them to this plain and single one, of fighting for fighting's sake, upon any, or all, no matter what, occasions.

Our present mode of HONOR is something more compounded, as will appear by the true character which I shall now give of a fashionable MAN OF HONOR.

A Gen-

A Gentleman *, which is now the genteel synonymous term for a MAN OF HONOR, must, like his Gothic ancestors, be ready for, and rather desirous of, single combat. And if by a proper degree of wrongheadedness he provokes it, he is only so much the more jealous of his HONOR, and more of a GENTLEMAN.

He may lie with impunity, if he is neither detected nor accused of it: for it is not the lie he tells, but the lie he is told of, that dishonors him. In that case he demonstrates his veracity by his sword or his pistol, and either kills or is killed with the greatest HONOR.

He may abuse and starve his own wife, daughters, or sisters, and he may seduce those of other men, particularly his friends, with inviolate HONOR, because, as sir John Brute very justly observes, *he wears a sword.*

By the laws of HONOR, he is not obliged to pay his servants or his tradesmen; for, as they are a pack of scoundrels, they cannot without insolence demand their due of a gentleman: but he must punctually pay his gaming debts to the sharpers who have cheated him; for those debts are really debts of HONOR.

He lies under one disagreeable restraint; for he must not cheat at play, unless in a horse-match: but then he may with great HONOR defraud in an office, or betray a trust.

In public affairs, he may, not only with HONOR, but even with some degree of LUSTRE, be in the same session a turbulent patriot, opposing the best measures, and a servile courtier, promoting the worst; provided a very lucrative consideration be known to be the motive of his conversion: for in that case the point of HONOR turns singly upon the *quantum*.

From these premises, which the more they are considered the truer they will be found, it appears that there are but two things which a man of the nicest HONOR may not do, which are, declining single combat, and cheating at play. Strange! that VIRTUE should be so difficult, and HONOR, its superior, so easy to attain to!

* A gentleman, is every man, who with a tolerable suit of cloaths, a sword by his side, and a watch and snuff-box in his pockets, asserts himself to be a gentleman, swears with energy that he will be treated as such, and that he will cut the throat of any man who presumes to say the contrary.

The uninformed herd of mankind are governed by words and names, which they implicitly receive without either knowing or asking their meaning. Even the philosophical and religious controversies, for the last three or four hundred years, have turned much more upon words and names, unascertained and misunderstood, than upon things fairly stated. The polite world, to save time and trouble, receive, adapt, and use words, in the signification of the day; not having leisure nor inclination to examine and analyse them: and thus, often misled by sounds, and not always secured by sense, they are hurried into fatal errors, which they do not give their understandings fair play enough to prevent.

In explaining words, therefore, and bringing them back to their true signification, one may sometimes happen to expose and explode those errors, which the abuse of them both occasions and protects. May that be the good fortune of this day's paper! How many unthinking and unhappy men really take themselves to be MEN of HONOR, upon these mistaken ideas of that word! And how fatal to others, especially to the young and unexperienced, is their example and success in the world! I could heartily wish that some good dramatic poet would exhibit at full length and in lively colors, upon the stage, this modish character of a MAN of HONOR, of which I have but slightly and hastily chalked the outlines. Upon such a subject, I am apt to think that a good poet might be more useful than a good preacher, as perhaps his audiences would be more numerous, and his matter more attended to. Besides,

"Segnius irritant animos, demissa per aurem
 "Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus, et quæ
 "Ipse sibi tradit spectator *."

P. S. To prevent mistakes, I must observe that there is a great difference between a MAN of HONOR, and a PERSON of HONOR. By PERSONS of HONOR were meant, in the latter end of the last century, bad authors and poets of noble birth, who were but just not fools enough to prefix their names in great letters to the prologues, epilogues, and sometimes even the plays, with which they entertained

* Horat. Art. Poet.

— What we hear
 More slowly moves the heart than what we see.

DUNCOMBE'S translation.

the

the public. But now that our nobility are too generous to interfere in the trade of us poor professed authors, or to eclipse our performances by the distinguished and superior excellency and lustre of theirs; the meaning at present of a PERSON of HONOR, is reduced to the SIMPLE idea of a PERSON of ILLUSTRIOUS BIRTH.

 XXVIII.

THE WORLD.

THURSDAY, Sept. 19, 1754.

No 90.

A N old friend and fellow-student of mine at the university, called upon me the other morning, and found me reading Plato's Symposium. I laid down my book to receive him, which, after the first usual compliments, he took up, saying, "You will give me leave to see what was the object of your studies." "Nothing less than the divine Plato," said I, that amiable philosopher—"with whom," interrupted my friend, "Cicero declares that he would rather be in the wrong, than in the right with any other." "I cannot," replied I, "carry my veneration for him to that degree of enthusiasm; but yet, wherever I understand him, for I confess I do not every where, I prefer him to all the antient philosophers. His Symposium more particularly engages and entertains me, as I see there the manners and characters of the most eminent men, of the politest times, of the politest city of Greece. And, with all due respect to the moderns, I much question whether an account of a modern Symposium, though written by the ablest hand, could be read with so much pleasure and improvement." "I do not know that," replied my friend; "for, though I revere the antients as much as you possibly can, and look upon the moderns as pigmies, when compared to those giants, yet if we come up to or near them in any thing, it is the elegance and delicacy of our convivial intercourse."

I was the more surprized at this doubt of my friend's, because I knew that he implicitly subscribed to, and superstitiously maintained, all the articles of the classical faith. I therefore asked him, whether he was serious? He answered me "that he was: that, in his mind, " Plato spun out that silly affair of love too fine and too long; and " that, if I would but let him introduce me to the club of which he " was an unworthy member, he believed I should at least entertain " the same doubt, or perhaps even decide in favour of the moderns." I thanked my friend for his kindness, but added that, in whatever society he was an unworthy member, I should be still a more unworthy guest. That moreover, my retired and domestic turn of life was as inconsistent with the engagements of a club, as my natural taciturnity among strangers would be misplaced in the midst of all that festal mirth and gaiety. "You mistake me," answered my friend; "every member of our club has the privilege of bringing " one friend along with him, who is by no means thereby to become a member of it; and as for your taciturnity, we have some " silent members, who, by the way, are none of our worst. Silent " people never spoil company; but, on the contrary, by being good " hearers, encourage good speakers." "But I have another difficulty," answered I, "and that I doubt a very solid one, which is, " that I drink nothing but water." "So much the worse for you," replied my friend, who, by the bye, loves his bottle most academically; "you will pay for the claret you do not drink. We use no " compulsion; every one drinks as little as he pleases—" "Which " I presume," interrupted I, "is as much as he can." "That is " just as it happens," said he: "sometimes, it is true, we make " pretty good fittings, but for my own part, I chuse to go home " always before eleven: for, take my word for it, it is the fitting " up late, and not the drink, that destroys the constitution." As I found that my friend would have taken a refusal ill, I told him that for this once I would certainly attend him to the club, but desired him to give me previously the outlines of the characters of the fitting members, that I might know how to behave myself properly. "Your precaution," said he, "is a prudent one; and I will make " you so well acquainted with them beforehand, that you shall not " seem

" seem a stranger when among them. You must know then, that
 " our club consists of at least forty members when compleat. Of
 " these, many are now in the country; and besides, we have some
 " vacancies, which cannot be filled up till next winter. Palfies
 " and apoplexies have of late, I do not know why been pretty rife
 " among us, and carried off a good many. It is not above a week
 " ago, that poor Tom Toastwell fell on a sudden under the table, as
 " we thought only a little in drink, but he was carried home, and
 " never spoke more. Those whom you will probably meet with
 " to-day are, first of all, lord Feeble, a nobleman of admirable
 " sense, a true fine gentleman, and, for a man of quality, a pretty
 " classic. He has lived rather fast formerly, and impaired his con-
 " stitution by sitting up late, and drinking your thin sharp wines.
 " He is still what you call nervous, which makes him a little low-
 " spirited and reserved at first; but he grows very affable and chear-
 " ful, as soon as he has warmed his stomach with about a bottle of
 " good claret.

" Sir Tunbelly Guzzle is a very worthy north-country baronet of
 " a good estate, and one who was beforehand in the world, till,
 " being twice chosen knight of the shire, and having in conse-
 " quence got a pretty employment at court, he ran out considerably.
 " He has left off house-keeping, and is now upon a retrieving
 " scheme. He is the heartiest, honestest fellow living; and though
 " he is a man of very few words, I can assure you he does not want
 " sense. He had an university education, and has a good notion of
 " the classics. The poor man is confined half the year at least
 " with the gout, and has besides an inveterate scurvy, which I can-
 " not account for: no man can live more regularly, he eats nothing
 " but plain meat, and very little of that; he drinks no thin wines,
 " and never sits up late, for he has his full dose by eleven.

" Colonel Culverin is a brave old experienced officer, though but
 " a lieutenant-colonel of foot. Between you and me, he has had
 " great injustice done him, and is now commanded by many,
 " who were not born when he came first into the army. He has
 " served in Ireland, Minorca, and Gibraltar, and would have been
 " in all the late battles in Flanders, had the regiment been ordered
 " there.

“ there. It is a pleasure to hear him talk of war. He is the best
“ natured man alive, but a little too jealous of his honor, and too
“ apt to be in a passion ; but that is soon over, and then he is
“ sorry for it. I fear he is dropfical, which I impute to his drink-
“ ing your champains and burgundies. He got that ill habit
“ abroad.

“ Sir George Plyant is well born, has a genteel fortune, keeps the
“ very best company, and is to be sure one of the best-bred men alive:
“ he is so good-natured, that he seems to have no will of his own.
“ He will drink as little or as much as you please, and no matter of
“ what. He has been a mighty man with the ladies formerly, and
“ loves the crack of the whip still. He is our news-monger ; for,
“ being a gentleman of the privy chamber, he goes to court every
“ day, and consequently knows pretty well what is going forward
“ there. Poor gentleman ! I fear we shall not keep him long ; for
“ he seems far gone in a consumption, though the doctors say it is
“ only a nervous atrophy.

“ Will Sitfast is the best-natured fellow living, and an excellent
“ companion, though he seldom speaks ; but he is no flincher, and
“ fits every man's hand out at the club. He is a very good scholar,
“ and can write very pretty Latin verses. I doubt he is in a
“ declining way ; for a paralytical stroke has lately twitched up one
“ side of his mouth so, that he is now obliged to take his wine
“ diagonally. However, he keeps up his spirits bravely, and never
“ shams his glass.

“ Doctor Carbuncle is an honest, jolly, merry parson, well affected
“ to the government, and much of a gentleman. He is the life of
“ our club, instead of being the least restraint upon it. He is an ad-
“ mirable scholar, and I really believe has all Horace by heart ; I
“ know he has him always in his pocket. His red face, inflamed
“ nose, and swelled legs, make him generally thought a hard drinker
“ by those who do not know him ; but I must do him the justice
“ to say, that I never saw him disguised with liquor in my life. It
“ is true, he is a very large man, and can hold a great deal, which
“ makes the colonel call him pleasantly enough, *a vessel of*
“ *election.*

“ The

“The last and least,” concluded my friend, “is your humble
 “servant such as I am; and, if you please, we will go and walk in
 “the park till dinner-time.” I agreed, and we set out together.
 But here the reader will perhaps expect that I should let him walk
 on a little, while I give his character. We were of the same year
 of St. John’s college in Cambridge: he was a younger brother of
 a good family, was bred to the church, and had just got a fellowship
 in the college, when, his elder brother dying, he succeeded to an
 easy fortune, and resolved to make himself easy with it, that is, to do
 nothing. As he had resided long in college, he had contracted all
 the habits and prejudices, the laziness, the sloaking, the pride, and the
 pedantry of the cloyster, which after a certain time are never to be
 rubbed off. He considered the critical knowledge of the Greek and
 Latin words as the utmost effort of the human understanding,
 and a glass of good wine in good company as the highest pitch of
 human felicity. Accordingly he passes his mornings in reading
 the classics, most of which he has long had by heart, and his even-
 ings in drinking his glass of good wine, which, by frequent filling,
 amounts at least to two, and often to three bottles a day. I must
 not omit mentioning that my friend is tormented with the stone,
 which misfortune he imputes to his having once drunk water for
 a month, by the prescription of the late doctor Cheyne, and by no
 means to at least two quarts of claret a day, for these last thirty years.
 To return to my friend: “I am very much mistaken,” said he, as
 we were walking in the park, “if you do not thank me for procuring
 “you this day’s entertainment; for a set of worthier gentlemen, to
 “be sure, never lived.” “I make no doubt of it,” said I, “and am
 “therefore the more concerned, when I reflect, that this club of
 “worthy gentlemen might, by your own account, be not improperly
 “called an hospital of incurables, as there is not one among them,
 “who does not labor under some chronical and mortal distemper.”
 “I see what you would be at,” answered my friend; “you would
 “insinuate that it is all owing to wine: but let me assure you, Mr.
 “Fitz-Adam, that wine, especially claret, if neat and good, can hurt
 “no man.” I did not reply to this aphorism of my friend’s, which
 I knew would draw on too long a discussion, especially as we were
 just

just going into the club-room, where I took it for granted that it was one of the great constitutional principles. The account of this modern Symposium shall be the subject of my next paper.

 XXIX.

T H E W O R L D .

S A T U R D A Y , S e p t . 2 6 , 1 7 5 4 .

 N^o 91.

MY friend presented me to the company, in what he thought the most obliging manner; but which, I confess, put me a little out of countenance. "Give me leave, gentlemen," said he, "to present to you my old friend Mr. Fitz-Adam, the ingenious author of the World." The word *author* instantly excited the attention of the whole company, and drew all their eyes upon me: for people, who are not apt to write themselves, have a strange curiosity to see a live author. The gentlemen received me in common with those gestures that intimate welcome; and I on my part respectfully muttered some of those nothings, which stand instead of the something one should say, and perhaps do full as well.

The weather being hot, the gentlemen were refreshing themselves before dinner, with what they called a *cool tankard*; in which they successively drank to me. When it came to my turn, I thought I could not decently decline drinking the gentlemen's healths, which I did aggregately: but how was I surprized, when upon the first taste I discovered that this cooling and refreshing draught was composed of the strongest mountain wine, lowered indeed with a very little lemon and water, but then heightened again by a quantity of those comfortable aromatics, nutmeg and ginger! Dinner, which had been called for more than once with some impatience, was at last brought up, upon the colonel's threatening perdition to the master and all the waiters of the house, if it was delayed two minutes

minutes longer. We sat down without ceremony, and we were no sooner sat down, than every body, except myself, drank every body's health, which made a tumultuous kind of noise. I observed with surprize, that the common quantity of wine was put into glasses of an immense size and weight; but my surprize ceased when I saw the tremulous hands that took them, and for which I supposed they were intended as ballast. But even this precaution did not protect the nose of doctor Carbuncle from a severe shock, in his attempt to hit his mouth. The colonel, who observed this accident, cried out pleasantly, "Why, doctor, I find you are but a bad engineer. While you aim at your mouth, you will never hit it, take my word for it. A floating battery, to hit the mark, must be pointed something above, or below it. If you would hit your mouth, direct your four-pounder at your forehead, or your chin." The doctor good-humoredly thanked the colonel for the hint, and promised him to communicate it to his friends at Oxford, where he owned, that he had seen many a good glass of port spilt for want of it. Sir Tunbelly almost smiled, sir George laughed, and the whole company, some how or other, applauded this elegant piece of raillery. But alas, things soon took a less pleasant turn; for an enormous buttock of boiled salt beef, which had succeeded the soupe, proved not to be sufficiently corned for sir Tunbelly, who had bespoke it, and at the same time lord Feeble took a dislike to the claret, which he affirmed not to be the same, which they had drank the day before; it had not "filkiness, went rough off the tongue," and his lordship shrewdly suspected that it was mixed with "Benecarlo, or some of those black wines." This was a common cause, and excited universal attention. The whole company tasted it seriously, and every one found a different fault with it. The master of the house was immediately sent for up, examined, and treated as a criminal. Sir Tunbelly reproached him with the freshness of the beef, while at the same time all the others fell upon him for the badness of his wine, telling him that it was not fit usage for such good customers as they were, and in fine, threatening him with a migration of the club to some other house. The criminal laid the blame of the beef's not being corned enough upon his cook, whom he promised to turn

away, and attested heaven and earth, that the wine was the very same which they had all approved of the day before, and, as he had a soul to be saved, was true Chateau Margoux. "Chateau devil!" said the colonel with warmth, "it is your d—d rough chaos* wine." Will Sitfast, who thought himself obliged to articulate upon this occasion, said, he was not sure it was a mixed wine, but that indeed it drank down. "If that is all," interrupted the doctor, "let us even drink it up then; or, if that will not do, since we cannot have the true *Falernum*, let us take up for once with the *vile Sabinum*. What say you, gentlemen, to good honest port, which I am convinced is a much wholesomer stomach wine?" My friend, who in his heart loves port better than any other wine in the world, willingly seconded the doctor's motion, and spoke very favourably of your *Portingal* wines in general, if neat. Upon this, some was immediately brought up, which I observed my friend and the doctor stuck to the whole evening. I could not help asking the doctor, if he really preferred port to lighter wines? To which he answered, "You know, Mr. Fitz-Adam, that use is second nature, and port is in a manner mother's milk to me; for it is what my *Alma Mater* suckles all her numerous progeny with." I silently assented to the doctor's account, which I was convinced was a true one, and then attended to the judicious animadversions of the other gentlemen upon the claret, which were still continued, though at the same time they continued to drink it. I hinted my surprize at this to sir Tunbelly, who gravely answered me, and in a moving way, "Why what can we do?" "Not drink it," replied I, "since it is not good." "But what will you have us do? and how shall we pass the evening?" rejoined the baronet. "One cannot go home at five o'clock." "That depends upon a great deal of use," said I. "It may be so, to a certain degree," said the doctor. "But give me leave to ask you, Mr. Fitz-Adam, you, who drink nothing but water, and live much at home, how do you keep up your spirits?" "Why, doctor," said I, "as I never lowered my spirits by strong liquors, I do not want to raise them." Here we were interrupted by the colonel's raising his voice and indignation against the burgundy and the champain, swearing that the former was ropy, and the

* Cahors.

latter upon the fret, and not without some suspicion of cyder and sugar-candy ; notwithstanding which, he drank, in a bumper of it, " Confusion to the town of Bristol and the bottle act." It was a shame, he said, that gentlemen could have no good burgundies and champains, for the sake of some increase of the revenue, the manufacture of glass bottles, and such sort of stuff. Sir George confirmed the same, adding that it was scandalous, and the whole company agreed, that the new parliament would certainly repeal so absurd an act the very first session ; but, if they did not, they hoped they would receive instructions to that purpose from their constituents. " To be sure," said the colonel. " What a d—d rout they made about the repeal of the Jew-bill, for which nobody cared one farthing ! But, by the way," continued he, " I think every body has done eating, and therefore had not we better have the dinner taken away, and the wine set upon the table ?" To this the company gave an unanimous aye. While this was doing, I asked my friend, with seeming seriousness, whether no part of the dinner was to be served up again, when the wine should be set upon the table ? He seemed surprized at my question, and asked me if I was hungry ; To which I answered, no ; but asked him in my turn if he was dry ? To which he also answered, no. " Then pray," replied I, " why not as well eat without being hungry, as drink without being dry ?" My friend was so stunned with this, that he attempted no reply, but stared at me with as much astonishment, as he would have done at my great ancestor Adam, in his primitive state of nature.

The cloth was now taken away, and the bottles, glasses, and dishtcloths, put upon the table, when Will Sitfast, who I found was a perpetual toast-maker, took the chair, of course, as the man of application to business. He began the king's health in a bumper, which circulated in the same manner, not without some nice examinations of the chairman as to day-light. The bottle standing by me, I was called upon by the chairman, who added, that though a water-drinker, he hoped I would not refuse that health in wine. I begged to be excused, and told him that I never drank his majesty's health at all, though no one of his subjects wished it more heartily than I did ; that hitherto it had not appeared to me, that there could be

the least relation between the wine I drank, and the king's state of health, and that, till I was convinced that impairing my own health would improve his Majesty's, I was resolved to preserve the use of my faculties and my limbs, to employ both in his service if he could ever have occasion for them. I had foreseen the consequences of this refusal, and, though my friend had answered for my principles, I easily discovered an air of suspicion in the countenances of the company, and I overheard the colonel whisper to lord Feeble, "This author is a very odd dog!"

My friend was ashamed of me; but however, to help me off as well as he could, he said to me aloud, "Mr. Fitz-Adam, this is one of those singularities, which you have contracted by living so much alone." From this moment, the company gave me up to my oddnesses, and took no farther notice of me. I leaned silently upon the table, waiting for, though, to say the truth, without expecting, some of that festal gaiety, that urbanity, and that elegant mirth, of which my friend had promised so large a share; instead of all which, the conversation ran chiefly into narrative, and grew duller and duller with every bottle. Lord Feeble recounted his former achievements in love and wine, the colonel complained, though with dignity, of hardships and injustice, sir George hinted at some important discoveries, which he had made that day at court, but cautiously avoided naming names, sir Tunbelly slept between glasses and glasses, the doctor and my friend talked over college matters, and quoted Latin, and our worthy president applied himself wholly to business, never speaking but to order; as, "Sir, the bottle stands with you, sir, you are to name a toast, that has been drunk already, here, more claret!" &c. In the height of all this convivial pleasantry, which I plainly saw was come to its zenith, I stole away at about nine o'clock, and went home; where reflections upon the entertainment of the day crowded into my mind, and may perhaps be the subject of some future paper.

XXX.

THE WORLD.

SATURDAY, Oct. 3, 1754.

N° 92.

THE entertainment, I do not say the diversion, which I mentioned in my last paper, tumbled my imagination to such a degree, and suggested such a variety of indistinct ideas to my mind, that, notwithstanding all the pains I took to sort and digest, I could not reduce, them to method. I shall therefore throw them out in this paper without order, and just as they occurred to me.

When I considered that, perhaps, two millions of my fellow-subjects passed two parts in three of their lives in the very same manner, in which the worthy members of my friend's club passed theirs, I was at a loss to discover that attractive, irresistible, and invisible charm, for I confess I saw none, to which they so deliberately and assiduously sacrificed their time, their health, and their reason; till, dipping accidentally into monsieur Pascal, I read, upon the subject of hunting, the following passage. "What, unless to drown thought," says that excellent writer, "can make men throw away so much time upon a silly animal, which they may buy much cheaper in the market? It hinders us from looking into ourselves, which is a view we cannot bear." That this is often one motive, and sometimes the only one, of hunting, I can easily believe. But then it must be allowed too, that if the jolly sportsman, who thus vigorously runs away from himself, does not break his neck in his flight, he improves his health, at least, by his exercise. But what other motive can possibly be assigned for the foaker's daily and seriously swallowing his own destruction, except that of "drowning thought, and hindering him from looking into himself, which is a view he cannot bear?"

Unhappy the man who cannot willingly and frequently converse with himself; but miserable in the highest degree is the man who dares

dares not! In one of these predicaments must that man be, who soaks and sleeps away his whole life. Either tired of himself for want of any reflections at all, or dreading himself for fear of the most tormenting ones, he flies for refuge from his folly or his guilt, to the company of his fellow-sufferers, and to the intoxication of strong liquors.

Archbishop Tillotson asserts, and very truly, that no man can plead, in defence of swearing, that he was born of a swearing constitution. I believe the same thing may with equal truth be affirmed of drinking. No man is born a drinker. Drinking is an acquired, not a natural, vice. The child, when he first tastes strong liquors, rejects them with evident signs of disgust, but is insensibly brought first to bear, and then perhaps to like, them, by the folly of his parents, who promise them as an encouragement, and give them as a reward.

When the coroner's inquest examines the body of one of those unhappy wretches, who drown themselves in a pond or river, with commonly a provision of lead in their pockets to make the work the surer, the verdict is either *felo de se*, or lunatic. Is it then the water, or the suddenness of the plunge, that constitutes either the madness or the guilt of the act? is there any difference between a water and a wine suicide? If there be, it is evidently in favour of the former, which is never so deliberate and premeditated as the latter. The soaker jogs on with a gentler pace indeed, but to as sure and certain destruction, and as a proof of his intention, would, I believe, upon examination, be generally found to have a good deal of lead about him too. He cannot alledge in his defence, that he has not warning, since he daily sees, in the chronical distempers of all his fellow soakers, the fatal effects of that slow poison which he so greedily guzzles; for I defy all those honest gentlemen, that is, all the hard drinkers in England, a numerous body I doubt, to produce one single instance of a soaker, whose health and faculties are not visibly impaired by drinking. Some indeed, born much stronger than others, hold it out longer, and are absurdly quoted as living proofs even of the salutary effects of drinking; but though they have not yet any of the most distinguished characteristics of their profession about them, though they have not yet lost one half of themselves by a

hemiplegia, nor the use of all their limbs by the gout, though they are but moderately mangy, and though the impending dropy may not yet appear, I will venture to affirm that the health they boast of is at best but an aukward state between sickness and health: if they are not actually sick, they are not actively well, and you will always find some complaint or other, inadvertently dropped from the triumphant soaker, within half an hour after he has assured you that he is *neither sick nor sorry*. My wife, who is a little superstitious, and perhaps too apt to point out and interpret judgments, otherwise an excellent woman, firmly believes, that the dropy, of which most soakers finally die, is a manifest and just judgment upon them; the wine they so much loved being turned into water, and themselves drowned at last in the element they so much abhorred.

A rational and sober man, invited by the wit and gaiety of good company, and hurried away by an uncommon flow of spirits, may happen to drink too much, and perhaps accidentally to get drunk; but then these sallies will be short, and not frequent, whereas the soaker is an utter stranger to wit and mirth, and no friend to either.

His business is serious, and he applies himself seriously to it; he steadily pursues the numbing, stupifying, and petrifying, not the animating and exhilarating, qualities of the wine. Gallons of the *Nepenthe* would be lost upon him. The more he drinks the duller he grows; his politics become more obscure, and his narratives more tedious and less intelligible; till at last *maudlin*, he employs what little articulation he has left, in relating his doleful tale to an insensible audience. I fear my countrymen have been too long noted for this manner of drinking, since a very old and eminent French historian*, speaking of the English, who were then in possession of Aquitain, the promised land of claret, says, *Ils se saoulerent grandement, et se divertirent moult tristement à la mode de leur pays.*

A very skilful surgeon of my acquaintance assured me, that, having opened the body of a SOAKER, who died of an apoplexy, he had found all the finer tubes and vessels plugged up with the tartar of the wine he had swallowed, so as to render the circulation of the blood absolutely impossible, and the folds of the stomach so stiffened

* Froissard,

with it, that it could not perform its functions. He compared the body of the deceased to a siphon, so choaked up with the tartar and dregs of the wine that had run through it, as to be impervious. I adopted this image, which seemed to me a just one, and I shall for the future typify the SOAKER by the siphon, suction being equally the business of both.

An object, viewed at once, and in its full extent, will sometimes strike the mind, when the several parts and gradations of it, separately seen, would be but little attended to. I shall therefore here present the society of siphons with a calculation, of which they cannot dispute the truth, and will not, I believe, deny the moderation; and yet perhaps they will be surprized when they see the gross sums of the wine they suck, of the money they pay for it, and of the time they lose, in the course of seven years only.

I reckon that I put a staunch siphon very low, when I put him only at two bottles a day, one with another. This in seven years amounts to four thousand four hundred and ten bottles*, which makes twenty hogheads and seventy bottles.

Supposing this quantity to cost only four shillings a bottle, which I take to be the lowest price of claret, the sum amounts to eight hundred and eighty-two pounds.

Allowing every siphon but six hours a day to suck his two bottles in, which is a short allowance, that time amounts to six hundred and thirty-eight days, eighteen hours; one full quarter of his life, for the above-mentioned seven years. Can any rational being coolly consider these three gross sums, of wine, and consequently distempers swallowed, of money lavished, and time lost, without shame, regret, and a resolution of reformation?

I am well aware that the numerous society of siphons will say, like fir Tunbelly, "What would this fellow have us do?" To which I am at no loss for an answer. Do any thing else. Preserve and improve that reason, which was given you to be your guide through this world, and to a better. Attend to, and discharge, your religious, your moral, and your social duties. These are occupations worthy of a rational being, they will agreeably and usefully employ

* This calculation is defective, the number of bottles drank in that time amounting to 5110.

your time, and will banish from your breasts that tiresome listlessness, or those tormenting thoughts, from which you endeavour, though in vain, to fly. Is your retrospect uncomfortable? Exert yourselves in time to make your prospect better; and let the former serve as a back-ground to the latter. Cultivate and improve your minds, according to your several educations and capacities. There are several useful books suited to them all. True religion and virtue give a chearful and happy turn to the mind, admit of all true pleasures, and even procure the truest.

Cantabrigius drinks nothing but water, and rides more miles in a year than the keenest sportsman, and with almost equal velocity. The former keeps his head clear, the latter his body in health. It is not from himself that he runs, but to his acquaintance, a synonymous term for his friends. Internally safe, he seeks no sanctuary from himself, no intoxication for his mind. His penetration makes him discover and divert himself with the follies of mankind, which his wit enables him to expose with the truest ridicule, though always without personal offence. Chearful abroad, because happy at home; and thus happy, because virtuous!

XXXI.

THE WORLD.

THURSDAY, NOV. 14, 1754.

N° 98.

IT gives me great pleasure that I am able, in this day's paper, to congratulate the polite part of my fellow subjects of both sexes, upon the splendid revival of that most rational entertainment, an Italian opera. Of late years it had seemed to sicken, so that I greatly feared that the unsuccessful efforts, which it made from time to time, were its convulsive and expiring pangs. But it now appears, and indeed much to the honor of this country, that we have still too many

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protectors

protectors and protectresses of the liberal arts, to suffer that of music, the most liberal of them all, to sink for want of due encouragement.

I am sensible that Italian operas have frequently been the objects of the ridicule of many of our greatest wits; and, viewed in one light only, perhaps not without some reason. But, as I consider all public diversions singly with regard to the effects, which they may have upon the morals and manners of the public, I confess I respect the Italian operas, as the most innocent of any.

The severe monsieur Boileau justly condemns the French operas, the morals of which he calls,

“ ——— Morale lubrique
“ Que Lully rechauffa des sons de sa musique. *”

But then it must be considered that French operas are always in French, and consequently may be understood by many French people, and that they are fine dramatic tragedies, adorned with all the graces of poetry and harmony of sounds, and may probably inspire too tender, if not voluptuous, sentiments. Can the Italian opera be accused of any thing of this kind? Certainly not. Were, what is called, the poetry of it intelligible in itself, it would not be understood by one in fifty of a British audience: but I believe that even an Italian of common candor will confess, that he does not understand one word of it. It is not the intention of the thing; for, should the ingenious author of the words, by mistake, put any meaning into them, he would, to a certain degree, check and cramp the genius of the composer of the music, who perhaps might think himself obliged to adapt his sounds to the sense: whereas now he is at liberty to scatter indiscriminately, among the kings, queens, heroes, and heroines, his ADAGIOS, his ALLEGROS, his PATHETICS, his CHROMATICS, and his JIGGS. It would also have been a restraint upon the actors and actresses, who might possibly have attempted to form their action upon the meaning of their parts; but as it is, if they do but seem, by turns, to be angry and sorry in the two first acts, and very merry in the last scene of the last, they are sure to meet with the deserved applause.

* Boileau Sat. x. l. 141, 142.

Lessons of licentiousness, which Lully (the founder of the French operas) animated with the sounds of his music.

Signor

Signior Metastasio attempted some time ago a very dangerous innovation. He tried gently to throw some sense into his operas; but it did not take: the consequences were obvious, and nobody knew where they would stop.

The whole skill and judgment of the poet now consists in selecting about a hundred words, for the opera vocabulary does not exceed that number, that terminate in liquids and vowels, and rhyme to each other. These words excite ideas in the hearer, though they were not the result of any in the poet. Thus the word *tortorella*, stretched out to a quaver of a quarter of an hour, excites in us the ideas of tender and faithful love; but if it is succeeded by *navicella*, that soothing idea gives way to the boisterous and horrid one of a skiff, that is, a heart, tossed by the winds and waves upon the main ocean of love. The handcuffs and fetters in which the hero commonly appears, at the end of the second, or beginning of the third act, indicate captivity; and when properly jingled to a pathetic piece of recitativo upon *questi ceppi*, are really very moving, and inspire a love of liberty. Can any thing be more innocent, or more moral, than this musical pantomime, in which there is not one indecent word or action, but where, on the contrary, the most generous sentiments are, however imperfectly, pointed out and inculcated?

I was once indeed afraid, that the licentiousness of the times had infected even the opera: for in that of Alexander, the hero going into the heroine's apartment, found her taking a nap in an easy chair. Tempted by so much beauty, and invited by so favourable an opportunity, he gently approached, and *stole a pair of gloves*. I confess, I dreaded the consequences of this bold step; and the more so, as it was taken by the celebrated signior Senesino. But all went off very well; for the hero contented himself with giving the good company a song, in which he declared the lips he had just kissed were a couple of rubies.

Another good effect of the Italian operas is, that they contribute extremely to the keeping of good hours; the whole audience, though passionately fond of music, being so tired before they are half, and so sleepy, before they are quite, done, that they make the

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best of their way home, too drowfy to enter upon fresh spirits that night.

Having thus rescued these excellent musical dramas from the unjust ridicule, which some people of vulgar and illiberal tastes have endeavoured to throw upon them, I must proceed, and do justice to the virtuosos and virtuosas who perform them. But, I believe, it will be necessary for me to premise, for the sake of many of my English readers, that VIRTÙ among the modern Italians, signifies nothing less than what VIRTUS did among the antient ones, or what VIRTUE signifies among us; on the contrary, I might say that it signifies almost every thing else. Consequently those respectable titles of virtuoso and virtuosa have not the least relation to the moral characters of the parties. They mean only that those persons, endowed some by nature, and some by art, with good voices, have from their infancy devoted their time and labor to the various combinations of seven notes: a study that must unquestionably have formed their minds, enlarged their notions, and have rendered them most agreeable and instructive companions; and as such, I observe that they are justly solicited, received, and cherished, by people of the first distinction.

As these illustrious personages come over here with no fordid view of profit, but merely *per far piacer a la nobilita Inglese*, that is, to oblige the English nobility, they are exceedingly good and condescending to such of the said English nobility, and even gentry, as are desirous to contract an intimacy with them. They will, for a word's speaking, dine, sup, or pass the whole day, with people of a certain condition, and perhaps sing or play, if civilly requested. Nay, I have known many of them so good as to pass two or three months of the summer at the country seats of some of their noble friends, and thereby mitigate the horrors of the country and mansion-house, to my lady and her daughters. I have been assured by many of their chief patrons and patronesses, that they are all *the best creatures in the world*; and from the time of signor Cavaliero Nicolini down to this day, I have constantly heard the several great performers, such as Farinelli, Carestini, Monticelli, Gaffarielli, as well as the signore Cuzzoni, Faustina, &c. much more praised for
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their affability, the gentleness of their manners, and all the good qualities of the head and heart, than for either their musical skill or execution. I have even known these their social virtues lay their protectors and protectresses under great difficulties, how to reward such distinguished merit. But benefit-nights luckily came in to their assistance, and gave them an opportunity of insinuating, with all due regard, into the hands of the performer, in lieu of a ticket, a considerable bank-bill, a gold snuff-box, a diamond ring, or some such trifle. It is to be hoped, that the illustrious signor Farinelli has not yet forgot the many instances he experienced of British munificence: for it is certain that many private families *still remember them*.

All this is very well; and I greatly approve of it, as I am of tolerating and naturalizing principles. But however, as the best things may admit of improvement by certain modifications, I shall now suggest two; the one of a public, the other of a private, nature. I would by all means welcome these respectable guests, but I would by no means part with them, as is too soon and too often the case.

Some of them, when they have got ten or fifteen thousand pounds here, unkindly withdraw themselves, and purchase estates in land in their own countries; and others are seduced from us, by the pressing invitations of some great potentate to come over to superintend his pleasures, and to take a share in his counsels. This is not only a great loss to their particular friends, the nobility and gentry, but to the nation in general, by turning the balance of our musical commerce considerably against us. I would therefore humbly propose, that immediately upon the arrival of these valuable strangers, a writ of *ne exeat regnum* should be issued to keep them here. The other modification, which I beg leave to hint at only, it being of a private nature, is, that no virtuoso, whose voice is below a *contralto*, shall be taken to the country seat of any family whatsoever; much less any strapping fiddler, bassoon, or bass viol, who does not even pretend to sing, or, if he does, sings a rough tenor or a tremendous bass. The consequences may be serious, but at least the appearances are not edifying.

XXXII.

T H E W O R L D .

T H U R S D A Y , Nov. 28, 1754. N^o 100.

I HEARD the other day, with great pleasure, from my worthy friend Mr. Doddsley, that Mr. Johnson's English dictionary, with a grammar and history of our language prefixed, will be published this winter, in two large volumes in folio.

I had long lamented, that we had no lawful standard of our language set up, for those to repair to, who might chuse to speak and write it grammatically and correctly : and I have as long wished that either some one person of distinguished abilities would undertake the work singly, or that a certain number of gentlemen would form themselves, or be formed by the government, into a society for that purpose. The late ingenious doctor Swift proposed a plan of this nature to his friend, as he thought him, the lord treasurer Oxford, but without success ; precision and perspicuity not being in general the favourite objects of ministers, and perhaps still less so of that minister than any other.

Many people have imagined, that so extensive a work would have been best formed by numbers of persons, who should have taken their several departments, of examining, sifting, winnowing, (I borrow this image from the Italian *Crusca*), purifying, and finally fixing our language, by incorporating their respective funds into one joint stock. But, whether this opinion be true or false, I think the public in general, and the republic of letters in particular, greatly obliged to Mr. Johnson, for having undertaken and executed so great and desirable a work. Perfection is not to be expected from man ; but, if we are to judge by the various works of Mr. Johnson, already published, we have good reason to believe, that he will bring this as near to perfection, as any one man could do. The plan of it, which he published some years ago, seems to me to be a proof
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of it. Nothing can be more rationally imagined, or more accurately and elegantly expressed. I therefore recommend the previous perusal of it to all those, who intend to buy the dictionary, and who, I suppose, are all those who can afford it.

The celebrated dictionaries of the Florentine and French academies owe their present size and perfection to very small beginnings. Some private gentlemen at Florence, and some at Paris, had met at each other's houses, to talk over and consider their respective languages: upon which they published some short essays, which essays were the embryos of those perfect productions, that now do so much honor to the two nations. Even Spain, which seems not to be the soil where, of late at least, letters have either prospered or been cultivated, has produced a dictionary, and a good one too, of the Spanish language, in six large volumes in folio.

I cannot help thinking it a sort of disgrace to our nation, that hitherto we have had no such standard of our language; our dictionaries at present being more properly what our neighbours the Dutch and the Germans call theirs, word-books, than dictionaries in the superior sense of that title. All words, good and bad, are there jumbled indiscriminately together, insomuch that the injudicious reader may speak, and write, as inelegantly, improperly, and vulgarly, as he pleases, by and with the authority of one or other of our word-books.

It must be owned that our language is at present in a state of anarchy; and hitherto, perhaps, it may not have been the worse for it. During our free and open trade, many words and expressions have been imported, adopted, and naturalized from other languages, which have greatly enriched our own. Let it still preserve what real strength and beauty it may have borrowed from others; but let it not, like the Tarpeian maid, be overwhelmed and crushed by unnecessary foreign ornaments. The time for discrimination seems to be now come. Toleration, adoption, and naturalization, have run their lengths. Good order and authority are now necessary. But where shall we find them, and at the same time the obedience due to them? We must have recourse to the old Roman expedient in times of confusion, and chuse a dictator. Upon this principle, I give my

vote for Mr. Johnson to fill that great and arduous post. And I hereby declare, that I make a total surrender of all my rights and privileges in the English language, as a free-born British subject, to the said Mr. Johnson, during the term of his dictatorship. Nay more ; I will not only obey him, like an old Roman, as my dictator, but, like a modern Roman, I will implicitly believe in him as my pope, and hold him to be infallible while in the chair ; but no longer. More than this he cannot well require ; for I presume that obedience can never be expected, when there is neither terror to enforce, nor interest to invite it.

I confess that I have so much honest English pride, or perhaps prejudice, about me, as to think myself more considerable for whatever contributes to the honor, the advantage, or the ornament, of my native country. I have therefore a sensible pleasure in reflecting upon the rapid progress, which our language has lately made, and still continues to make, all over Europe. It is frequently spoken, and almost universally understood, in Holland ; it is kindly entertained as a relation in the most civilized parts of Germany ; and it is studied as a learned language, though yet little spoke, by all those in France and Italy, who either have, or pretend to have, any learning.

The spreading the French language over most parts of Europe, to the degree of making it almost an universal one, was always reckoned among the glories of the reign of Lewis the fourteenth. But be it remembered, that the success of his arms first opened the way to it ; though at the same time it must be owned, that a great number of most excellent authors, who flourished in his time, added strength and velocity to its progress. Whereas our language has made its way singly by its own weight and merit, under the conduct of those leaders, Shakespear, Bacon, Milton, Locke, Newton, Swift, Pope, Addison, &c. A nobler sort of conquest, and a far more glorious triumph, since graced by none but willing captives !

These authors, though for the most part but indifferently translated into foreign languages, gave other nations a sample of the British genius. The copies, imperfect as they were, pleased and excited
a general

a general desire of seeing the originals ; and both our authors and our language soon became classical.

But a grammar, a dictionary, and a history of our language, through its several stages, were still wanting at home, and importunately called for from abroad. Mr. Johnson's labors will now, and, I dare say, very fully, supply that want, and greatly contribute to the farther spreading of our language in other countries. Learners were discouraged by finding no standard to resort to, and consequently thought it incapable of any. They will be undeceived and encouraged.

There are many hints and considerations relative to our language, which I should have taken the liberty of suggesting to Mr. Johnson, had I not been convinced that they have equally occurred to him : but there is one, and a very material one it is, to which perhaps he may not have given all the necessary attention. I mean the genteeler part of our language, which owes both its rise and progress to my fair countrywomen, whose natural turn is more to the copiousness, than to the correction of diction. I would not advise him to be rash enough to proscribe any of those happy redundancies, and luxuriances of expression, with which they have enriched our language. They willingly inflict fetters, but very unwillingly submit to wear them. In this case the task will be so difficult, that I design, as a common friend, to propose in some future paper, the means which appear to me the most likely to reconcile matters.

P. S. I hope that none of my courteous readers will upon this occasion be so uncourteous, as to suspect me of being a hired and interested puff of this work ; for I most solemnly protest, that neither Mr. Johnson, nor any person employed by him, nor any bookseller or bookfellers concerned in the success of it, have ever offered me the usual compliment of a pair of gloves or a bottle of wine : nor has even Mr. Doddsley, though my publisher, and, as I am informed, deeply interested in the sale of this dictionary, so much as invited me to take a bit of mutton with him.

XXXIII.

T H E W O R L D.

SATURDAY, Dec. 5, 1754.

N^o 101.

WHEN I intimated in my last paper some distrust of Mr. Johnson's complaisance to the fairer part of his readers, it was because I had a greater opinion of his impartiality and severity as a judge, than of his gallantry as a fine gentleman. And indeed I am well aware of the difficulties he would have to encounter, if he attempted to reconcile the polite, with the grammatical, part of our language. Should he, by an act of power, banish and attain many of the favourite words and expressions, with which the ladies have so profusely enriched our language, he would excite the indignation of the most formidable, because the most lovely, part of his readers : his dictionary would be condemned as a system of tyranny, and he himself, like the last Tarquin, run the risque of being deposed. So popular and so powerful is the female cause ! On the other hand, should he, by an act of grace, admit, legitimate, and incorporate into our language those words and expressions, which, hastily begot, owe their birth to the incontinency of female eloquence ; what severe censures might he not justly apprehend from the learned part of his readers, who do not understand complaisances of that nature !

For my own part, as I am always inclined to plead the cause of my fair fellow-subjects, I shall now take the liberty of laying before Mr. Johnson those arguments, which upon this occasion may be urged in their favour, as introductory to the compromise which I shall humbly offer and conclude with.

Language is indisputably the more immediate province of the fair sex : there they shine, there they excel. The torrents of their eloquence, especially in the vituperative way, stun all opposition, and bear away, in one promiscuous heap, nouns, verbs, moods, and tenses. If words are wanting, which indeed happens but seldom, indignation

dignation instantly makes new ones ; and I have often known four or five syllables that never met one another before, hastily and fortuitously jumbled into some word of mighty import.

Nor is the tender part of our language less obliged to that soft and amiable sex ; their love being at least as productive as their indignation. Should they lament in an involuntary retirement the absence of the adored object, they give new murmurs to the brook, new sounds to the echo, and new notes to the plaintive Philomela. But when this happy copiousness flows, as it often does, into gentle numbers, good gods ! how is the poetical diction enriched, and the poetical licence extended ! Even in common conversation, I never see a pretty mouth opening to speak, but I expect, and am seldom disappointed, some new improvement of our language. I remember many expressive words coined in that fair mint. I assisted at the birth of that most significant word FLIRTATION, which dropped from the most beautiful mouth in the world, and which has since received the sanction of our most accurate Laureat in one of his comedies. Some inattentive and undiscerning people have, I know, taken it to be a term synonymous with coquetry ; but I lay hold of this opportunity to undeceive them, and eventually to inform Mr. Johnson, that flirtation is short of coquetry, and intimates only the first hints of approximation, which subsequent coquetry may reduce to those preliminary articles, that commonly end in a definitive treaty.

I was also a witness to the rise and progress of that most important verb, TO FUZZ ; which, if not of legitimate birth, is at least of fair extraction. As I am not sure that it has yet made its way into Mr. Johnson's literary retirement, I think myself obliged to inform him that it is at present the most useful and the most used word in our language ; since it means no less than dealing twice together with the same pack of cards, for luck's sake, at whist.

Not contented with enriching our language by words absolutely new, my fair countrywomen have gone still farther, and improved it by the application and extension of old ones to various and very different significations. They take a word and change it, like a guinea into shillings for pocket money, to be employed in the several occasional purposes of the day. For instance, the adjective

vast and its adverb *vastly* mean any thing, and are the fashionable words of the most fashionable people. A fine woman, under this head I comprehend all fine gentlemen too, not knowing in truth where to place them properly, is *vastly* obliged, or *vastly* offended, *vastly* glad, or *vastly* sorry. Large objects are *vastly* great, small ones are *vastly* little; and I had lately the pleasure to hear a fine woman pronounce, by a happy metonymy, a very small gold snuff-box that was produced in company to be *vastly* pretty, because it was *vastly* little. Mr. Johnson will do well to consider seriously to what degree he will restrain the various and extensive significations of this great word.

Another very material point still remains to be considered; I mean the orthography of our language, which is at present very various and unsettled.

We have at present two very different orthographies, the *pedantic*, and the *polite*; the one founded upon certain dry crabbed rules of etymology and grammar, the other singly upon the justness and delicacy of the ear. I am thoroughly persuaded that Mr. Johnson will endeavour to establish the former; and I perfectly agree with him, provided it can be quietly brought about. Spelling, as well as music, is better performed by book, than merely by the ear, which may be variously affected by the same sounds. I therefore most earnestly recommend to my fair countrywomen, as to their faithful or faithless servants, the fine gentlemen of this realm, to surrender, as well for their own private as for the public utility, all their natural rights and privileges of mis-spelling, which they have so long enjoyed, and so vigorously exerted. I have really known very fatal consequences attend that loose and uncertain practice of auricular orthography; of which I shall produce two instances as a sufficient warning.

A very fine gentleman wrote a very harmless innocent letter to a very fine lady, giving her an account of some trifling commissions, which he had executed according to her orders. This letter, though directed to the lady, was, by the mistake of a servant, delivered to, and opened by, her husband; who, finding all his attempts to understand it unsuccessful, took it for granted that it was a concerted cypher, under which a criminal correspondence, not much to his
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own honor or advantage, was secretly carried on. With the letter in his hand, and rage in his heart, he went immediately to his wife, and reproached her in the most injurious terms with her supposed infidelity. The lady, conscious of her own innocence, calmly requested to see the grounds of so unjust an accusation; and, being accustomed to the auricular orthography, made shift to read to her incensed husband the most inoffensive letter that ever was written. The husband was undeceived, or at least wise enough to seem so; for in such cases one must not peremptorily decide. However, as sudden impressions are generally pretty strong, he has been observed to be more suspicious ever since.

The other accident had much worse consequences. Matters were happily brought, between a fine gentleman and a fine lady, to the decisive period of an appointment at a third place. *The place where* is always the lover's business, *the time when* the lady's. Accordingly an impatient and rapturous letter from the lover signified to the lady the house and street *where*; to which a tender answer from the lady assented, and appointed the time *when*. But unfortunately, from the uncertainty of the lover's auricular orthography, the lady mistook both house and street, was conveyed in a hackney chair to a wrong one, and in the hurry and agitation, which ladies are sometimes in upon these occasions, rushed into a house where she happened to be known, and her intentions consequently discovered. In the mean time the lover passed three or four hours at the right place, in the alternate agonies of impatient and disappointed love, tender fear, and anxious jealousy.

Such examples really make one tremble; and will, I am convinced, determine my fair fellow-subjects and their adherents to adopt, and scrupulously conform to, Mr. Johnson's rules of true orthography by book. In return to this concession, I seriously advise him to publish, by way of appendix to his great work, a genteel Neological dictionary, containing those polite, though perhaps not strictly grammatical, words and phrases, commonly used, and sometimes understood, by the *beau monde*. By such an act of toleration, who knows but he may, in time, bring them within the pale of the English language? The best Latin dictionaries have commonly a short supple-

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mental one annexed, of the obsolete and barbarous Latin words, which pedants sometimes borrow to shew their erudition. Surely then my country-women, the enrichers, the patronesses, and the harmonizers of our language, deserve greater indulgence. I must also hint to Mr. Johnson, that such a small supplemental dictionary will contribute infinitely to the sale of the great one; and I make no question but that, under the protection of that little work, the great one will be received in the genteelest houses. We shall frequently meet with it in ladies dressing-rooms, lying upon the harp-fichord, together with the knotting-bag, and signor Di-Giardino's incomparable concertos; and even sometimes in the powder-rooms of our young nobility, upon the same shelf with their German flute, their powder-mask, and their four-horse-whip.

 XXXIV.

T H E W O R L D.

THURSDAY, January 2, 1755.

N^o 105.

AS I am desirous of beginning the new year well, I shall devote this paper to the service of my fair countrywomen, for whom I have so tender a concern, that I examine into their conduct with a kind of parental vigilance and affection. I sincerely wish to approve, but at the same time am determined to admonish and reprimand, whenever, for their sakes, I may think it necessary. I will not, as far as in me lies, suffer the errors of their minds to disgrace those beautiful dwellings in which they are lodged; nor will I, on the other hand, silently and quietly allow the affectation and abuse of their persons, to reflect contempt and ridicule upon their understandings.

Native, artless beauty has long been the peculiar distinction of my fair fellow subjects. Our poets have long sung their genuine
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lilies and roses, and our painters have long endeavoured, though in vain, to imitate them : beautiful nature mocked all their art. But I am now informed by persons of unquestioned truth and sagacity, and indeed I have observed but too many instances of it myself, that a great number of those inestimable originals, by a strange inversion of things, give the lie to their poets, and servilely copy their painters; degrading and disguising themselves into worse copies of bad copies of themselves. It is even whispered about town of that excellent artist, Mr. Liotard*, that he lately refused a fine woman to draw her picture, alledging that he never copied any body's works but his own and GOD ALMIGHTY'S.

I have taken great pains to inform myself of the growth and extent of this heinous crime of self-painting, I had almost given it a harder name, and I am sorry to say, that I have found it to be extremely epidemical. The present state of it, in its several degrees, appears to be this.

The inferior class of women, who always ape their betters, make use of a sort of rough cast, little superior to the common lath and plaister, which comes very cheap, and can be afforded out of the casual profits of the evening.

The class immediately above these, paint occasionally, either in size or oil, which, at sixpence *per* foot square, comes within a moderate weekly allowance.

The generality of women of fashion make use of a superfine stucco, or plaister of Paris highly glazed, which does not require a daily renewal, and will, with some slight occasional repairs, last as long as their curls, and stand a pretty strong collision.

As for the transcendent and divine powder, with an exquisite varnish superinduced to fix it, it is by no means common, but is reserved for the ladies not only of the first rank, but of the most considerable fortunes; it being so very costly, that few pin-mones can keep a face in it, as a face of condition ought to be kept. Perhaps the same number of pearls *whole*, might be more acceptable to some lovers, than in powder upon the lady's face.

* A celebrated limner in crayons, very faithful to nature, who after having travelled in several parts of the world, and received great encouragement in England, is now retired to his own country Geneva.

I would now fain undeceive my fair countrywomen of an error, which, gross at it is, they too fondly entertain. They flatter themselves that this artificial, is not discoverable, or distinguishable from native, white. But I beg leave to assure them, that, however well prepared the color may be, or however skilful the hand that lays it on, it is immediately discovered by the eye at a considerable distance, and by the nose upon a nearer approach; and I over-heard the other day at the coffee-house captain Phelim McManus complaining, that when warm upon the face it had the most nauseous taste imaginable. Thus offensive to three of the senses, it is not, probably very inviting to a fourth.

Talking upon this subject lately with a friend, he said, that, in his opinion, a woman who painted white, gave the public a pledge of her chastity, by fortifying it with a wall, which she must be sure that no man would desire either to batter or scale. But, I confess, I did not agree with him as to the motive, though I did as to the consequences; which are, I believe, in general, that they lose both *operam et oleum*. I have observed that many of the sagacious landlords of this great metropolis, who lett lodgings, do at the beginning of the winter, new vamp, paint and stucco the fronts of their houses, in order to catch the eyes of passengers, and engage lodgers. Now, to say the truth, I cannot help suspecting that this is rather the real motive of my fair countrywomen, when they thus incrust themselves. But alas! those outward repairs will never tempt people to inquire within. The cases are greatly different; in the former they both adorn and preserve, in the latter they disgust and destroy.

In order therefore to put an effectual stop to this enormity, and save, as far as I am able, the native carnations, the eyes, the teeth, the breath, and the reputations, of my beautiful fellow-subjects, I here give notice, that, if within one kalendar month from the date hereof, I allow that time for the consumption of stock in hand, I shall receive any authentic testimonies, and I have my spies abroad, of this sophistication and adulteration of the fairest works of nature, I am resolved to publish at full length the names of the delinquents. This may perhaps at first sight seem a bold measure, and actions of scandal and defamation may be thought of: but I go upon safe ground;

ground; for, before I took this resolution, I was determined to know all the worst possible consequences of it to myself, and therefore consulted one of the most eminent council in England, an old acquaintance and friend of mine, whose opinion I shall here most faithfully relate.

When I had stated my case to him as clearly as I was able, he stroked his chin for some time, picked his nose, and hemmed thrice, in order to give me his very best opinion. "By publishing the names at full length in your paper, I humbly conceive," said he, "that you avoid all the troublesome consequences of *innuendos*. But the present question, if I apprehend it aright, seems to be, whether you may thereby be liable to any other action, or actions, which, for brevity sake, I will not here enumerate. Now, by what occurs to me off-hand, and without consulting my books, I humbly apprehend that no action will lie against you: but on the contrary I do conceive, and indeed take upon me to affirm, that you may proceed against these criminals, for such I will be bold to call them, either by action or indictment; the crime being of a public and a heinous nature. Here is not only the *suppressio veri*, which is highly penal, but the *crimen falsi* too. An *action popular*, or of *qui tam*, would certainly lie; but however I should certainly prefer an indictment upon the statutes of forgery, 2 Geo. II. cap. 25. and 7 Geo. II. cap. 22: for forgery I maintain it, it is. The fact, as you well know, will be tried by a jury, of whom one moiety will doubtless be plaisterers; so that it will unquestionably be found." Here my council paused for some time, and hemmed pretty often; however, I remained silent, observing plainly by his countenance that he had not finished, but was thinking on. In a little time he resumed his discourse, and said, "All things considered, Mr. Fitz-Adam, I would advise you to bring your indictment upon the *Black Act*, 9 Geo. I. cap. 22. which is a very fine penal statute." I confess I could not check the sudden impulse of surprize, which this occasioned in me, and interrupting him perhaps too hastily, "What, sir, said I, indict a woman upon the *Black Act* for *painting white*?" Here my council, interrupting me in his turn, said with some warmth, "Mr. Fitz-Adam, Mr.

“ Fitz-Adam, you, like too many others, have not sufficiently con-
 “ sidered all the beauty, good sense, and solid reasoning, of the law.
 “ The law, sir, let me tell you, abhors all refinements, subtleties,
 “ and quibblings upon words. What is black or white to the law?
 “ Do you imagine that the law views colors by the rule of optics?
 “ No, God forbid it should. The law makes black white, or white
 “ black, according to the rules of justice. The law considers the
 “ meaning, the intention, the *quo animo* of all actions, not their
 “ external modes. Here a woman disguises her face with white,
 “ as the Waltham people did with black, and with the same frau-
 “ dulent and felonious intention. Though the color be different,
 “ the guilt is the same in the intendment of the law. It is felony
 “ without benefit of clergy, and the punishment is death.” As I
 perceived that my friend had now done, I asked his pardon for the
 improper interruption I had given him, owned myself convinced,
 and offered him a fee, which he took by habit, but soon returned,
 by reflecting upon our long acquaintance and friendship.

This, I hope, will be sufficient to make such of my fair country-
 women as are conscious of their guilt, seriously consider their
 danger; though perhaps, from my natural lenity, I shall not pro-
 ceed against them with the utmost rigor of the law, nor follow the
 example of the ingenious author of our last musical drama, who
 strings up a whole row of Penelope's maids of honor. I shall there-
 fore content myself with publishing the names of the delinquents as
 above-mentioned; but others may possibly not have the same indul-
 gence; and the law is open for all.

I shall conclude this paper with a word or two of serious advice to
 all my readers, of all sorts and sexes. Let us follow nature, our
 honest and faithful guide, and be upon our guard against the flat-
 tering delusions of art. Nature may be helped and improved, but
 will not be forced or changed. All attempts in direct opposition to
 her are attended with ridicule, many with guilt. The woman, to
 whom nature has denied beauty, in vain endeavours to make it by
 art; as the man to whom nature has denied wit, becomes ridiculous
 by the affectation of it: they both defeat their own purposes, and
 are in the case of the valetudinarian, who creates or increases his
 distempers by his remedies, and dies of his immoderate desire to live.

XXXV.

THE WORLD.

THURSDAY, Feb. 13, 1755.

N^o III.

IT is very well known that religion and politics are perfectly understood by every body, as they require neither study nor experience. All people therefore decide peremptorily, though often variously, upon both.

All sects, severally sure of being in the right, intimate, at least, if not denounce, damnation to those who differ from them, in points so clear, so plain, and so obvious. On the other hand, the infidel, not less an enthusiast than any of them, though upon his own principles he cannot damn, because he knows to demonstration that there is no future state, would very gladly hang, as hypocrites or fools, the whole body of believers.

In politics, the sects are as various and as warm: and what seems very extraordinary, is, that those who have studied them the most, and experienced them the longest, always know them the least. Every administration is in the wrong, though they have the clue and secret of business in their hands; and not less than six millions of their fellow subjects, for I only except very young children, are willing and able to discover, censure, reform, and correct their errors, and put them in the right way.

These considerations, among many others, determined me originally not to meddle with religion or politics, in which I could not instruct, and upon which I thought it not decent to trifle.

Entertainment alone must be the object of an humble weekly author of a sheet and a half. A certain degree of bulk is absolutely necessary for a certain degree of dignity, either in man or book. A system of ethics, to be respected as it ought, requires at least a quarto; and even moral essays cannot decently, and with utility, appear in less than a thick octavo. But should I, in my ignoble state of a fugitive

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sheet and a half, perfume with a grave face to censure folly, or with an angry one to lash vice, the porter of every well-bred family in town would have orders to deny me; and I should forfeit my place at the breakfast-table, where now, to my great honor and emolument, I am pretty generally served up. But if, by the introduction of that wit and humor, which I believe my enemies must allow me, I can without offence to the politer part of my readers slide in any useful moral, I will not neglect the opportunity: for I will be witty whenever I can, and instructive whenever I dare; and when my scattered leaves shall, like the Sibyls, come to be collected, I believe, I may without vanity assert, that they will be, at least, as good oracles.

But in this design too I am aware of difficulties, little inferior to those, which discouraged me from meddling with religion and politics: for every body has wit and humor, and many have more of both than they, or at least their friends, know what to do with. As they are gifts of nature, not to be acquired by art, who is there that thinks himself so disinherited by nature as not to have some share of them? Nay, those, if such there are, who are modest enough to think themselves cut off with a shilling, husband that twelve-pence with care, and frugally spend their penny upon occasion, as fly wags, and dry jokers.

In this universal profusion, this prodigious plenty of wit and humor, I cannot help distrusting a little the success, though by no means the merit, of my own: for I have interior conviction, that no man in England has so much. But tastes are various, and the market is glutted. However, I should hope that my candid readers will have the same regard for my opinion, which they have for most of the opinions they entertain; that is, that they will take it upon trust, especially as they have it *from the gentleman's own mouth*.

The better to take my measures for the future, I have endeavoured to trace the progress and reception of my paper, through the several classes of its readers.

In families of condition, it is first received by the porter, who, yawning, just casts his half-open eyes upon it, for it comes out so early as between ten and eleven; but, finding neither the politics nor the casualties of the week in it, throws it aside, and takes up in
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its stead a daily news-paper, in which all those matters are related with truth and perspicuity.

From thence it is sent up to Mrs. Betty, to lay upon the breakfast-table. She receives it in pretty much the same manner, finds it deficient in point of news, and lays it down in exchange for the Daily-Advertiser, where she turns with impatience to the advertisements, to see what invitations are thrown out by single gentlemen of undoubted characters, to agreeable young women of unblemished reputations, to become either their wives or their companions. And, by a prudent forecast, she particularly attends to the premiums so frequently offered, for a fine wholesome breast of milk.

When it is introduced into my lady's dressing-room, it undergoes a severer examination: for, if my lord and lady ever meet, it is then and there. The youngest, probably, of the young ladies is appointed to read it aloud, to use her to read at sight. If my lord, who is a judge of wit, as well as of property, in the last resort, gives a favourable nod, and says, *it is well enough to-day*, my lady, who does not care to contradict him in trifles, pronounces it to be *charming*. But if unfortunately my lord, with an air of distaste, calls it *poor stuff*, my lady discovers it to be *horridly stupid*. The young family are unanimously of opinion, that the name of Adam Fitz-Adam is a very comical one, and enquire into the meaning of the globe in the frontispiece; by which, if any body could tell them, they might get a pretty notion of geography.

In families of an inferior class, I meet with a fuller, though perhaps not a more favourable, trial. My merits and demerits are freely discussed. Some think me too grave, others trifling. The mistress of the house, though she detests scandal, wishes, for example's sake only, that I would draw the characters, and expose the intrigues, of the fine folks. The master wonders that I do not give the ministers a rap; and concludes that I receive hush-money. But all agree in saying facetiously and pleasantly enough, that the WORLD does not inform them how the WORLD goes. This is followed by many other *bons mots*, equally ingenious, alluding to the title of my paper, and worth at least the two-pence a week that it costs.

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In the city, for my paper has made its way to that end of the town, upon the supposition of its being a fashionable one in this, I am received and considered in a different light. All my general reflexions upon the vices or the follies of the age are, by the ladies, supposed to be levelled at particular persons, or at least discovered to be very applicable to such and such of the QUALITY. They are also thought to be very pat to several of their own neighbours and acquaintance; and shrewd hints of the kind greatly embellish the conversation of the evening. The graver and more frugal part of that opulent metropolis, who do not themselves buy, but borrow my paper of those who do, complain that, though there is generally room sufficient at the end of the last page, I never insert the price of stocks nor of goods at Bear key. And they are every one of them astonished how certain transactions of the court of aldermen on one hand, and of the common-council on the other, can possibly escape my animadversion, since it is impossible that they can have escaped my knowledge.

Such are the censures and difficulties, to which a poor weekly author is exposed. However, I have the pleasure, and something more than the pleasure, of finding that two thousand of my papers are circulated weekly. This number exceeds the largest that was ever printed even of the spectators, which in no other respect do I pretend to equal. Such extraordinary success would be sufficient to flatter the vanity of a good author, and to turn the head of a bad one. But I prudently check and stifle those growing sentiments in my own breast, by reflecting upon the other circumstances that tend to my humiliation. I must confess that the present fashion of curling the hair has proved exceedingly favourable to me: and perhaps the quality of my paper, as it happens to be peculiarly adapted to that purpose, may contribute, more than its merit, to the sale of it. A head that has taken a right French turn, requires, as I am assured, fourscore curls in distinct papers, and those curls must be renewed as often as the head is combed, which is perhaps once a month. Four of my papers are sufficient for that purpose, and amount only to eight pence, which is very little more than what the same quantity of plain paper would cost. Taking it therefore all together,

together, it seems not inconsistent with good œconomy to purchase it at so small a price. This reflection might mortify me as an author; but on the other hand, self-love, which is ingenious in availing itself of the flightest favourable circumstances, comforts me with the thought, that, of the prodigious number of daily and weekly papers that are now published, mine is perhaps the only one that is ultimately applied to the head.

 XXXVI.

THE WORLD.

SATURDAY, February 20, 1755.

Nº 112.

A LATE noble author has most justly and elegantly defined custom to be, “The result of the passions and prejudices of many, and of the designs of a few; the ape of reason, who usurps her seat, exercises her power, and is obeyed by mankind in her stead.”

This definition enables us to account for the various absurd and wicked customs which have severally and successively prevailed in all ages and countries, and also for those which unfortunately prevail in this: for they may all be traced up to the passions and prejudices of the many, and the designs of a few.

It is certain, however, that there has not been a time, when the prerogative of human reason was more freely asserted, nor errors and prejudices more ably attacked and exposed by the best writers, than now. But may not the principle of inquiry and detection be carried too far, or at least made too general? And should not a prudent discrimination of cases be attended to?

A prejudice is by no means necessarily, though generally thought so, an error. On the contrary, it may be a most unquestioned truth, though

though it be still a prejudice in those who, without any examination, take it upon trust, and entertain it by habit.

There are even some prejudices, founded upon error, which ought to be connived at, or perhaps encouraged; their effects being more beneficial to society, than their detection can possibly be.

Human reason, even when improved by knowledge, and undisturbed by the passions, is not an infallible, though it is our best, guide: but, unimproved by knowledge, and adulterated by passion, it becomes the most dangerous one; constituting obstinate wrong-headedness, and dignifying, nay almost sanctifying, error.

The bulk of mankind have neither leisure nor knowledge sufficient to reason right: why then should they be taught to reason at all? Will not honest instinct prompt, and wholesome prejudices guide them, much better than half reasoning?

The power of the magistrate to punish bad, and the authority of those of superior rank to set good examples, properly exerted, would probably be of more diffusive advantage to society, than the most learned, theological, philosophical, moral and casuistical dissertations. As for instance.

An honest cobbler in his stall thinks and calls himself a good honest protestant; and if he lives at the city end of the town, probably goes to his parish church on Sundays. Would it be honest, would it be wise, to say to this cobbler, "Friend, you only think yourself a member of the church of England; but in reality you are not one, since you are only so from habit and prejudice, not from examination and reflection. But study the ablest controversial writers of the popish and reformed churches; read Bellarmine, Chillingworth, and Stillingfleet, and then you may justly call yourself, what in truth you are not now, a protestant."

Should our mender of shoes follow this advice, which I hope he would not, a useful cobbler would most certainly be lost, in a useless polemic, and a scurvy logician.

It would be just the same thing in morals. Our cobbler received from his parents that best and shortest of all christian and moral precepts, "Do as you would be done by:" he adopted it without much examination, and scrupulously practised it in general, though

with some few exceptions perhaps in his own trade. But should some philosopher, for the advancement of truth and knowledge, assure this cobbler, "That his honesty was mere prejudice and habit, because he had never sufficiently considered the relation and fitness of things, nor contemplated the beauty of virtue; but that, if he would carefully study the Characteristics, the Moral Philosopher, and thirty or forty volumes more upon that subject, he might then, and not till then, justly call himself an honest man;" what would become of the honesty of the cobbler after this useful discovery, I do not know: but this I very well know, that he should no longer be my cobbler.

I shall borrow him in two instances more, and then leave him to his honest, useful, homespun prejudices, which half-knowledge and less reasoning will, I hope, never tempt him to lay aside.

My cobbler is also a politician. He reads the first news-papers he can get, desirous to be informed of the state of affairs in Europe, and of the street robberies in London. He has not, I presume, analysed the interests of the respective countries of Europe, nor deeply considered those of his own: still less is he systematically informed of the political duties of a citizen and a subject. But his heart and his habit supply those defects. He glows with zeal for the honor and prosperity of old England; he will fight for it, if there be occasion, and drink to it perhaps a little too often, and too much. However, is it not to be wished that there were in this country six millions of such honest and zealous, though uninformed, citizens?

All these unreflected and unexamined opinions of our cobbler, though prejudices in him, are in themselves undoubted and demonstrable truths, and ought therefore to be cherished even in their coarsest dress. But I shall now give an instance of a common prejudice in this country, which is the result of error, and which yet I believe no man in his senses would desire should be exposed or removed.

Our honest cobbler is thoroughly convinced, as his forefathers were for many centuries, that one Englishman can beat three Frenchmen; and, in that persuasion, he would by no means decline the trial. Now, though in my own private opinion, deduced from physical principles, I am apt to believe that one Englishman could beat no

more than two Frenchmen of equal strength and size with himself, I should however be very unwilling to undeceive him of that useful and sanguine error, which certainly made his countrymen triumph in the fields of Poitiers and Crecy.

But there are prejudices of a very different nature from these ; prejudices not only founded on original error, but that gave birth and sanction to the most absurd, extravagant, impious, and immoral customs.

Honor, that sacred name, which ought to mean the spirit, the supererogation of virtue, is, by custom, profaned, reduced, and shrunk to mean only a readiness to fight a duel upon either a real or an imaginary affront, and not to cheat at play. No vices nor immoralities whatsoever blast this fashionable character, but rather, on the contrary, dignify and adorn it : and what should banish a man from all society, recommends him in general to the best. He may, with great honor, starve the tradesmen, who by their industry, supply not only his wants, but his luxury ; he may debauch his friend's wife, daughter, or sister ; he may, in short, unboundedly gratify every appetite, passion, and interest, and scatter desolation round him, if he be but ready for single combat, and a scrupulous observer of all the moral obligations of a gamester.

These are the prejudices for wit to ridicule, for satire to lash, for the rigor of the law to punish, and, (which would be the most effectual of all,) for fashion to discountenance and proscribe. And these shall in their turns be the subjects of some future papers.

XXXVII.

T H E W O R L D.

SATURDAY, Feb. 27, 1755.

N^o 113.

THE custom of DUELLING is most evidently "the result of the passions of the many, and of the designs of a few ;" but here the definition stops ; since, far from being "the ape of reason," it prevails

prevails in open defiance of it. It is the manifest offspring of barbarity and folly, a monstrous birth, and distinguished by the most shocking and ridiculous marks of both its parents.

I would not willingly give offence to the politer part of my readers, whom I acknowledge to be my best customers, and therefore I will not so much as hint at the impiety of this practice; nor will I labor to shew how repugnant it is to instinct, reason, and every moral and social obligation, even to the fashionable fitness of things. Viewed on the criminal side, it excites horror; on the absurd side, it is an inexhaustible fund of ridicule. The guilt has been considered and exposed by abler pens than mine, and indeed ought to be censured with more dignity than a fugitive weekly paper can pretend to: I shall therefore content myself with ridiculing the folly of it.

The antients most certainly have had very imperfect notions of HONOR, for they had none of DUELLING. One reads, it is true, of murders committed every now and then among the Greeks and Romans, prompted only by interest or revenge, and performed without the least Attic politeness, or Roman urbanity. No letters of gentle invitation were sent to any man to come and have his throat cut the next morning; and we may observe that Milo had not the common decency to give Clodius, the most profligate of men, the most dangerous of citizens, and his own inveterate enemy, an equal chance of destroying him.

This delicacy of sentiment, this refinement of manners, was reserved for the politer Goths, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Vandals, &c. to introduce, cultivate, and establish. I must confess that they have generally been considered as barbarous nations; and to be sure there are some circumstances which seem to favour that opinion. They made open war upon learning, and gave no quarter even to the monuments of arts and sciences. But then it must be owned, on the other hand, that upon those ruins, they established the honorable and noble science of HOMICIDE, dignified, exalted, and ascertained TRUE HONOR, worshipped it as their deity, and sacrificed to it hecatombs of human victims.

In those happy days, HONOR, that is, single combat, was the great and unerring test of civil rights, moral actions, and sound doctrines.

It was sanctified by the church, and the churchmen were occasionally allowed the honor and pleasure of it; for we read of many instances of DUELS between men and priests. Nay, it was, without appeal, the infallible test of female chastity. If a princess, or any lady of distinction, was suspected of a little incontinency, some brave champion, who was commonly privy to, or perhaps the author of it, stood forth in her defence, and asserted her innocence with the point of his sword or lance. If, by his activity, skill, strength and courage, he murdered the accuser, the lady was spotless; but, if her champion fell, her guilt was manifest. This heroic gallantry in defence of the fair, I presume, occasioned that association of ideas, otherwise seemingly unrelative to each other, of the BRAVE and the FAIR: for indeed in those days it behoved a lady, who had the least regard for her reputation, to chuse a lover of uncommon activity, strength, and courage. This notion, as I am well assured, still prevails in many reputable families about Covent-garden, where the BRAVE in the kitchen, are always within call of the FAIR in the first or second floor.

By this summary method of proceeding, the quibbles, the delays, and the expence of the law were avoided, and the troublesome shackles of the gospel knocked off; HONOR ruling in their stead. To prove the utility and justice of this method, I cannot help mentioning a very extraordinary DUEL between a man of distinction and a dog, in the year 1371, in presence of king Charles the fifth of France. Both the relation and the print of this DUEL are to be found in father Monfaucon.

A gentleman of the court was supposed to have murdered another, who had been missing for some days. This suspicion arose from the mute testimony of the absent person's dog, a large Irish greyhound, who with uncommon rage attacked this supposed murderer wherever he met him. As he was a gentleman, and a man of very nice honor, though by the way he really had murdered the man, he could not bear lying under so dishonorable a suspicion, and therefore applied to the king for leave to justify his innocence by single combat with the said dog. The king, being a great lover of justice, granted his suit, ordered lists to be made ready, appointed the

the time, and named the weapons. The gentleman was to have an offensive club in his hand, the dog a defensive tub to resort to occasionally. The Irish greyhound willingly met this fair invader at the time and place appointed; for it has always been observable of that particular breed, that they have an uncommon alacrity at single combat. They fought, the dog prevailed, and almost killed the honorable gentleman, who had then the honor to confess his guilt, and of being hanged for it in a few days.

When letters, arts, and sciences, revived in Europe, the science of HOMICIDE was farther cultivated and improved. If, on the one hand, it lost a little of the extent of its jurisdiction, on the other, it acquired great precision, clearness, and beauty, by the care and pains of the very best Italian and Spanish authors, who reduced it into a regular body, and delighted the world with their admirable codes, digests, pandects, and reports, *della cavalleresca*, in some hundreds of volumes. Almost all possible cases of HONOR were considered and stated; two-and-thirty different sorts of lies were distinguished, and the adequate satisfaction necessary for each, was, with great solidity and precision ascertained. A kick with a thin shoe was declared more injurious to honor, though not so painful to the part kicked, than a kick with a thick shoe; and in short, a thousand other discoveries of the like nature, equally beneficial to society, were communicated to the world in those voluminous treasures of HONOR.

In the present degenerate age, the fundamental laws of HONOR are exploded and ridiculed, and single combat thought a very uncertain, and even unjust, decision of civil property, female chastity, and criminal accusations; but I would humbly ask, why? Is not single combat as just a decision of any other thing whatsoever, as it is of veracity, the case to which it is now in a manner confined? I am of opinion that there are more men in the world who lie and fight too, than there are who will lie and not fight; because I believe there are more men in the world who have, than who want, courage. But, if fighting is the test of veracity, my readers of condition will, I hope, pardon me, when I say, that my future inquiries and researches

ches after truth shall be altogether confined to the three regiments of guards.

There is one reason indeed, which makes me suspect that a DUEL may not always be the infallible criterion of veracity, and that is, that the combatants very rarely meet upon equal terms. I beg leave to state a case, which may very probably, and not even unfrequently happen, and which yet is not provided for, nor even mentioned in the INSTITUTES OF HONOR.

A very lean, slender, active young fellow of great HONOR, weighing perhaps not quite twelve stone, and who has from his youth taken lessons of HOMICIDE from a murder-master, has, or thinks he has, a point of honor to discuss with an unweildy, fat, middle-aged gentleman, of nice HONOR likewise, weighing four-and-twenty stone, and who in his youth may not possibly have had the same commendable application to the noble science of HOMICIDE. The lean gentleman sends a very civil letter to the fat one, inviting him to come and be killed by him the next morning in Hyde-park. Should the fat gentleman accept this invitation, and waddle to the place appointed, he goes to inevitable slaughter. Now, upon this state of the case, might not the fat gentleman, consistent with the rules of HONOR, return the following answer to the invitation of the lean one?

“ SIR,

“ I find by your letter that you do me the justice to believe, that
 “ I have the true notions of honor that become a gentleman ; and I
 “ hope I shall never give you reason to change your opinion. As I
 “ entertain the same opinion of you, I must suppose that you will
 “ not desire that we should meet upon unequal terms, which must
 “ be the case were we to meet to-morrow. At present I unfortunately weigh four-and-twenty stone, and I guess that you do not
 “ exceed twelve. From this circumstance singly, I am doubly the
 “ mark that you are ; but besides this, you are active, and I am
 “ unweildy. I therefore propose to you, that from this day for-
 “ wards,

“wards, we severally endeavour by all possible means, you to
 “fatten, and I to waste, till we can meet at the medium of eigh-
 “teen stone. I will lose no time on my part, being impatient to
 “prove to you that I am not quite unworthy of the good opinion
 “which you are pleased to express of,

“SIR,

Your very humble servant.

“P. S. I believe it may not be amiss for us to communicate to
 “each other, from time to time, our gradations of increase
 “or decrease, towards the desired medium, in which, I pre-
 “sume, two or three pounds more or less, on either side,
 “ought not to be considered.”

This, among many more cases that I could mention, sufficiently
 proves, not only the expediency, but the necessity, of restoring,
 revising, and perhaps adding to, the practice, rules, and statutes, of
 single combat, as it flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.
 I grant that it would probably make the common law useless ; but
 little, trifling, and private interests ought not to stand in the way of
 great, public, and national advantages.

XXXVIII.

T H E W O R L D.

THURSDAY, March 6, 1755.

Nº 114.

THE notion of BIRTH, as it is commonly called and established
 by custom, is also the manifest result of *the prejudices of the many,*
and of the designs of a few. It is the child of Pride and Folly, coupled
 together by that industrious pandar Self-love. It is surely the strongest
 instance, and the weakest prop, of human vanity. If it means any
 thing

thing, it means a long lineal descent from a founder, whose industry or good fortune, whose merit, or perhaps whose guilt, has enabled his posterity to live useless to society, and to transmit to theirs their pride and their patrimony. However, this extravagant notion, this chimerical advantage, the effect of blind chance, where prudence and option cannot even pretend to have the least share, is that FLY which, by a kind of Egyptian superstition, custom all over Europe has deified, and at whose tawdry shrine good sense, good manners, and good nature, are daily sacrificed.

The vulgar distinction between people of BIRTH and people of NO BIRTH will probably puzzle the critics and antiquaries of the thirtieth or fortieth centuries, when, in their judicious or laborious researches into the customs and manners of these present times, they shall have reason to suppose, that in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the island of Great Britain was inhabited by two sorts of people, some BORN, but the much greater number UNBORN. The fact will appear so *incredible*, that it will certainly be *believed*; the only difficulty will be how to account for it; and that, as it commonly does, will engross the attention of the learned. The case of Cadmus's men will doubtless be urged as a case in point, to prove the possibility of the thing; and the truth of it will be confirmed by the records of the university of Oxford, where it will appear that an unborn person, called for that reason *Terræ Filius*, annually entertained that university with an oration in the theatre.

I therefore take with pleasure this opportunity of explaining and clearing up this difficulty to my remotest successors in the republic of letters, by giving them the true meaning of the several expressions of GREAT BIRTH, NOBLE BIRTH, and NO BIRTH AT ALL.

Great and illustrious BIRTH is ascertained and authenticated by a pedigree carefully, preserved in the family, which takes at least an hour's time to unroll, and, when unrolled, discloses twenty intermarriages of valiant and puissant Geoffreys and Hildebrands, with as many chaste and pious Blaunches and Mauds, before the Conquest, not without here and there a dash of the Plantagenets. But, if unfortunately the insolent worms should have devoured the pedigree as well as the persons of the illustrious family, that defect may be supplied

supplied by the authentic records of the heralds office, that inestimable repository of good sense and useful knowledge. If this GREAT BIRTH is graced with a peerage, so much the better, but if not, it is no great matter; for, being so solid a good in itself, it wants no borrowed advantages, and is unquestionably the most pleasing sentiment, that a truly generous mind is capable of feeling.

NOBLE BIRTH implies only a peerage in the family. Ancestors are by no means necessary for this kind of birth; the patent is the midwife of it, and the very first descent is noble. The family arms, however modern, are dignified by the coronet and mantle; but the family livery is sometimes, for very good reasons, laid aside.

BIRTH, singly, and without an epithet, extends, I cannot possibly say how far, but negatively it stops where useful arts and industry begin. Merchants, tradesmen, yeomen, farmers, and ploughmen, are not BORN, or at least in so mean a way as not to deserve that name; and it is perhaps for that reason that their mothers are said to be *delivered*, rather than *brought to bed* of them. But baronets, knights, and esquires, have the honor of being BORN.

I must confess that, before I got the key to this fashionable language, I was a good deal puzzled myself with the distinction between BIRTH and NO BIRTH; and, having no other guide than my own weak reason, I mistook the matter most grossly. I foolishly imagined that *well born*, meant born with a sound mind in a sound body; a healthy, strong constitution, joined to a good heart and a good understanding. But I never suspected that it could possibly mean the shrivelled, tasteless fruit of an old genealogical tree. I communicated my doubts, and applied for information, to my late worthy and curious friend the celebrated Mrs. Kennon, whose valuable collection of fossils and minerals, lately sold, sufficiently proves her skill and researches in the most recondite parts of nature. She, with that frankness and humanity which were natural to her, assured me that it was all a vulgar error, in which however the nobility and gentry prided themselves, but that in truth she had never observed the children of the quality to be wholsomer and stronger than others, but rather the contrary; which difference she imputed to certain causes, which I shall not here specify. This natural, and,

I dare say, to the best of her observation, true, account confirmed me in my former philosophical error. But still, not thoroughly satisfied with it, and thinking that there must be something more in what was so universally valued, I determined to get some farther information, by addressing myself to a person of vast, immense, prodigious BIRTH, and descended *atavis regibus*, with whom I have the honor of being acquainted. As he expatiates willingly upon that subject, it was very easy for me to set him a going upon it, inasmuch, that, upon some few doubts which I humbly suggested to him, he spoke to me in the following manner.

“ I believe, Mr. Fitz-Adam, you are not, for nobody is, ignorant
 “ of the antiquity of my family, which by authentic records I can
 “ trace to king Alfred, some of whose blood runs at this moment in
 “ my veins, and I will not conceal from you that I find infinite
 “ inward comfort and satisfaction in that reflection. Let people of
 “ NO BIRTH laugh as much as they please at these notions ; they are
 “ not imaginary ; they are real ; they are solid ; and whoever is
 “ WELL BORN, is glad that he is so. A merchant, a tradesman, a
 “ yeoman, a farmer, and such sort of people, may perhaps have
 “ common honesty and vulgar virtues ; but, take my word for it,
 “ the more refined and generous sentiments of honor, courage, and
 “ magnanimity, can only flow in antient and noble blood. What
 “ shall animate a tradesman or mean-born man to any great
 “ and heroic virtues ? Shall it be the examples of his ancestors ?
 “ He has none. Or shall it be that impure blood that rather stag-
 “ nates than circulates in his veins ? No ; ANTIENT BIRTH and
 “ NOBLE BLOOD are the only true sources of great virtues. This
 “ truth appears even among brutes, who, we observe, never dege-
 “ nerate, except in cases of misalliances with their inferiors. Are
 “ not the pedigrees of horses, cocks, &c. carefully preserved, as the
 “ never-failing proofs of their swiftness and courage ? I repeat it
 “ again, BIRTH is an inestimable advantage, not to be adequately
 “ understood but by those who have it.”

My friend was going on, and, to say the truth, growing dull, when I took the liberty of interrupting him, by acknowledging that the cogency of his arguments, and the self-evidence of his facts, had

entirely removed all my doubts, and convinced me of the unspeakable advantages of ILLUSTRIOUS BIRTH, and unfortunately I added, that my own vanity was greatly flattered by it, in consequence of my being lineally descended from the first man. Upon this my friend looked grave, and seemed rather displeased; whether from a suspicion that I was jesting, or upon an apprehension that I meant to *out-descend* him, I cannot determine; for he contented himself with saying, "That is not a necessary consequence neither, Mr. Fitz-Adam, since I have read somewhere or other of pre-adamites, which opinion did not seem to me an absurd one."

Here I took my leave of him, and went home full of reflections upon the astonishing power of self-love, that can extract comfort and pleasure from such groundless, absurd, and extravagant prejudices. In all other respects my friend is neither a fool nor a madman, and can talk very rationally upon any rational subject. But such is the inconsistency both of the human mind and the human heart, that one must not form a general judgment of either, from one glaring error, or one shining excellence.

 XXXIX.

THE WORLD.

THURSDAY, April 17, 1755.

No 120.

MOST people complain of fortune, few of nature; and the kinder they think the latter has been to them, the more they murmur at what they call the injustice of the former.

Why have not I the riches, the rank, the power, of such and such, is the common expostulation with fortune: but why have not I the merit, the talents, the wit, or the beauty, of such and such others, is a reproach rarely or never made to nature.

The truth is, that nature, seldom profuse, and seldom niggardly, has distributed her gifts more equally than she is generally supposed

to have done. Education and situation make the great difference. Culture improves, and occasions elicit, natural talents. I make no doubt but that there are potentially, if I may use that pedantic word, many Bacons, Lockes, Newtons, Cæsars, Cromwells, and Marlboroughs, at the plough-tail, behind counters, and, perhaps, even among the nobility; but the foil must be cultivated, and the seasons favourable, for the fruit to have all its spirit and flavor.

If sometimes our common parent has been a little partial, and not kept the scales quite even; if one preponderates too much, we throw into the lighter a due counterpoise of vanity, which never fails to set all right. Hence it happens, that hardly any one man would, without reserve, and in every particular, change with any other.

Though all are thus satisfied with the dispensations of nature, how few listen to her voice! how few follow her as a guide! In vain she points out to us the plain and direct way to truth; vanity, fancy, affectation, and fashion, assume her shape, and wind us through fairy-ground to folly and error.

These deviations from nature are often attended by serious consequences, and always by ridiculous ones; for there is nothing truer than the trite observation, "that people are never ridiculous for being what they really are, but for affecting what they really are not." Affectation is the only source, and at the same time, the only justifiable object, of ridicule. No man whatsoever, be his pretensions what they will, has a natural right to be ridiculous: it is an acquired right, and not to be acquired without some industry; which perhaps is the reason why so many people are so jealous and tenacious of it. Even some people's VICES are not their own, but affected and adopted, though at the same time unenjoyed, in hopes of shining in those fashionable societies, where the reputation of certain vices gives lustre. In these cases, the execution is commonly as awkward, as the design is absurd; and the ridicule equals the guilt.

This calls to my mind a thing, that really happened not many years ago. A young fellow of some rank and fortune, just let loose from the university, resolved, in order to make a figure in the world, to
assume

assume the shining character of, what he called, a rake. By way of learning the rudiments of his intended profession, he frequented the theatres, where he was often drunk, and always noisy. Being one night at the representation of that most absurd play, the *Libertine destroyed*, he was so charmed with the profligacy of the hero of the piece, that, to the edification of the audience, he swore many oaths that he would be the libertine *destroyed*. A discreet friend of his who sat by him, kindly represented to him, that to be the *libertine* was a laudable design, which he greatly approved of; but that to be the libertine *destroyed*, seemed to him an unnecessary part of his plan, and rather rash. He persisted, however, in his first resolution, and insisted upon being the libertine, and *destroyed*. Probably he was so; at least the presumption is in his favour. There are, I am persuaded, so many cases of this nature, that for my own part I would desire no greater step towards the reformation of manners for the next twenty years, than that our people should have no vices but *their own*.

The blockhead who affects wisdom, because nature has given him dulness, becomes ridiculous only by his adopted character; whereas he might have stagnated unobserved in his native mud, or perhaps have engrossed deeds, collected shells, and studied heraldry, or logic, with some success.

The shining coxcomb aims at all, and decides finally upon everything, because nature has given him pertness. The degree of parts and animal spirits, necessary to constitute that character, if properly applied, might have made him useful in many parts of life; but his affectation and presumption make him useless in most, and ridiculous in all.

The septuagenary fine gentleman might probably, from his long experience and knowledge of the world, be esteemed and respected in the several relations of domestic life, which, at his age, nature points out to him: he will most ridiculously spin out the rotten thread of his former gallantries. He dresses, languishes, ogles, as he did at five-and-twenty; and modestly intimates that he is not without a *bonne fortune*; which *bonne fortune* at last appears to be the prostitute he had long kept, not to himself, whom he marries
and

and owns, because *the poor girl was so fond of him, and so desirous to be made an honest woman.*

The sexagenary widow remembers that she was handsome, but forgets that it was thirty years ago, and thinks herself so, or at least, very *likeable*, still. The pardonable affectations of her youth and beauty unpardonably continue, increase even with her years, and are doubly exerted in hopes of concealing the number. All the gaudy glittering parts of dress, which rather degraded than adorned her beauty in its bloom, now expose to the highest and justest ridicule her shrivelled or her overgrown carcase. She totters or sweats under the load of her jewels, embroideries, and brocades, which, like so many Egyptian hieroglyphics, serve only to authenticate the venerable antiquity of her august mummy. Her eyes dimly twinkle tenderness, or leer desire: their language, however inelegant, is intelligible, and the half-pay captain understands it. He addresses his vows to her vanity, which assures her they are sincere. She pities him, and prefers him to credit, decency, and every social duty. He tenderly prefers her, though not without some hesitation, to a jail.

Self-love, kept within due bounds, is a natural and useful sentiment. It is, in truth, social love too, as Mr. Pope has very justly observed: it is the spring of many good actions, and of no ridiculous ones. But self-flattery is only the ape or caricatura of self-love, and resembles it no more than to heighten the ridicule. Like other flattery, it is the most profusely bestowed and greedily swallowed, where it is the least deserved. I will conclude this subject with the substance of a fable of the ingenious monsieur De La Motte, which seems not unapplicable to it.

Jupiter made a lottery in heaven, in which mortals, as well as gods, were allowed to have tickets. The prize was WISDOM; and Minerva got it. The mortals murmured, and accused the gods of foul play. Jupiter, to wipe off this aspersions, declared another lottery, for mortals singly and exclusively of the gods. The prize was FOLLY. They got it, and shared it among themselves. All were satisfied. The loss of WISDOM was neither regretted nor remembered; FOLLY supplied its place, and those who had the largest share of it, thought themselves the wisest.

XL.

THE WORLD.

THURSDAY, Oct. 16, 1755.

N^o 146.

I HAVE so tender a regard for my fair countrywomen, that I most heartily congratulate them upon the approaching meeting of the parliament, which I consider, and I believe they do so too, as the general gaol delivery of the several counties of the united kingdom.

That beautiful part of our species once engrossed my cares ; they still share them : I have been exceedingly affected all the summer with the thoughts of their captivity, and have felt a sympathetic grief for them.

In truth, what can be more moving, than to imagine a fine woman of the highest rank and fashion, torn from all the elegant and refined pleasures of the metropolis ; hurried by a merciless husband into country captivity, and there exposed to the incursions of the neighbouring knights, squires, and parsons, their wives, sons, daughters, dogs, and horses ? The metropolis was at once the seat of her empire, and the theatre of her joys. Exiled from thence, how great the fall ! how dreadful the prison ! Methinks I see her sitting in her dressing-room at the mansion-seat, sublimely fullen, like a dethroned eastern monarch. Some few books, scattered up and down, seem to imply that she finds no consolation in any. The unopened knotting-bag speaks her painful leisure. Insensible to the proffered endearments of her tender infants, they are sent away for being so abominably noisy. Her dress is even neglected, and her complexion laid by. I am not ashamed to own my weakness, if it be one ; for I confess that this image struck me so strongly, dwelt upon my mind so long, that it drew tears from my eyes.

The prorogation of the parliament last spring was the fatal forerunner of this summer captivity. I was well aware of it, and had
some

some thoughts of preparing a short treatise of consolation, which I would have presented to my fair countrywomen, in two or three weekly papers, to have accompanied them in their exile: but I must own that I found the attempt greatly above my strength; and an inadequate consolation only redoubles the grief, by reviving in the mind the cause of it. Thus at a loss, I searched, as every modest modern should do, the antients, in order to say in English, whatever they had said in Latin or Greek upon the like occasion; but, far from finding any case in point, I could not find one in any degree like it. I particularly consulted Cicero, upon that exile which he bore so very indifferently himself; but, to my great surprize, could not meet with one single word of consolation, addressed or adapted to the fair and tender part of his species. To say the truth, that philosopher seems to have had either a contempt for, or an aversion to, the fair sex; for it is very observable, that even in his essay upon old age, there is not one single period addressed directly and exclusively to them; whereas I humbly presume that an old woman wants at least as much, if not more, comfort, than an old man. Far be it from me to offer them that refined stoical argument to prove that exile can be no misfortune, because the exiled persons can always carry their virtue along with them, if they please.

However, though I could administer no adequate comfort to my fair fellow-subjects under their country captivity, my tender concern for them prompts me to offer them some advice upon their approaching liberty.

As there must have been, during this suspension, I will not say only of pleasure, but, in a manner, of existence, a considerable saving in the article of pin-money, I earnestly recommend to them, immediately upon their coming to town, to apply that sinking fund to the discharge of debts already incurred, and not divert it to the current service of the ensuing year. I would not be misunderstood; I mean only the payment of debts of honor, contracted at commerce, bragg, or faro; as they are apt to hang heavy upon the minds of women of sentiment, and even to affect their countenances, upon the approach of a creditor. As for shop-debts, to mercers, milliners, jewellers, French pedlars, and such like, it is no great matter
whether

whether they are paid or not ; some how or other those people will shift for themselves, or, at worst, fall ultimately upon the husband.

I will also advise those fine women, who, by an unfortunate concurrence of odious circumstances, have been obliged to begin an acquaintance with their husbands and children in the country, not to break it off intirely in town, but on the contrary, to allow a few minutes every day to the keeping it up ; since a time may come, when perhaps they may like their company rather better than none at all.

As my fair fellow-subjects were always famous for their public spirit and love of their country, I hope they will, upon the present emergency of the war with France, distinguish themselves by unequivocal proofs of patriotism. I flatter myself that they will, at their first appearance in town, publicly renounce those French fashions, which of late years have brought their principles, both with regard to religion and government, a little in question. And therefore I exhort them to disband their curls, comb their heads, wear white linen, and clean pocket-handkerchiefs, in open defiance of all the power of France. But, above all, I insist upon their laying aside that shameful piratical practice of hoisting false colors upon their top gallant, in the mistaken notion of captivating and enslaving their countrymen. This they may the more easily do at first, since it is to be presumed that, during their retirement, their faces have enjoyed uninterrupted rest. Mercury and vermillion have made no depredation these six months ; good air and good hours may perhaps have restored, to a certain degree at least, their natural carnation : but at worst, I will venture to assure them, that such of their lovers, who may know them again in that state of native artless beauty, will rejoice to find the communication opened again, and all the barriers of plaster and stucco removed. Be it known to them, that there is not a man in England, who does not infinitely prefer the brownest natural, to the whitest artificial, skin ; and I have received numberless letters from men of the first fashion, not only requesting, but requiring me to proclaim this truth, with leave to publish their names, which however I declined : but, if I thought

it could be of any use, I could easily present them with a round robin to that effect, of above a thousand of the most respectable names. One of my correspondents, a member of the Royal Society, illustrates his indignation at glazed faces, by an apt and well-known physical experiment. The shining glass tube, says he, when warmed by friction, attracts a feather, probably a white one, to close contact; but the same feather, from the moment that it is taken off the tube, flies it with more velocity than it approached it with before. I make no application; but, avert the omen, my dear countrywomen!

Another, who seems to have some knowledge of chemistry, has sent me a receipt for a most excellent wash, which he desires me to publish, by way of *succedaneum* to the various greasy, glutinous, and pernicious applications so much used of late. It is as follows.

Take of fair clear water *quantum sufficit*; put it into a clean earthen or china basin, then take a clean linen cloth, dip it in that water, and apply it to the face night and morning, or oftener, as occasion may require.

I own, the simplicity and purity of this admirable lotion recommend it greatly to me, and engage me to recommend it to my fair countrywomen. It is free from all the inconveniencies and nastiness of all other preparations of art whatsoever. It does not stink, as all others do; it does not corrode the skin, as all others do; it does not destroy the eyes, nor rot the teeth, as all others do; and it does not communicate itself by collision, nor betray the transactions of a *tête-à-tête*, as most others do.

Having thus paid my tribute of grief to my lovely countrywomen during their captivity, and my tribute of congratulations upon their approaching liberty, I heartily wish them a good journey to London. May they soon enter, in joyful triumph, that metropolis, which six months ago they quitted with tears!

XLI.

THE WORLD.

THURSDAY *, Oct. 30, 1755.

N° 148.

CIVILITY and GOOD-BREEDING are generally thought, and often used, as synonymous terms, but are by no means so.

GOOD-BREEDING necessarily implies CIVILITY; but CIVILITY does not reciprocally imply GOOD-BREEDING. The former has its intrinsic weight and value, which the latter always adorns, and often doubles by its workmanship.

To sacrifice one's own self-love to other people's, is a short, but, I believe, a true definition of CIVILITY: to do it with ease, propriety, and grace, is GOOD-BREEDING. The one is the result of good-nature; the other of good-sense, joined to experience, observation, and attention.

A ploughman will be civil, if he is good-natured, but cannot be well-bred. A courtier will be well-bred, though perhaps without good-nature, if he has but good-sense.

Flattery is the disgrace of GOOD-BREEDING, as brutality often is of truth and sincerity. GOOD-BREEDING is the middle point between those two odious extremes.

CEREMONY is the superstition of GOOD-BREEDING, as well as of religion; but yet, being an out-work to both, should not be absolutely demolished. It is always, to a certain degree, to be complied with, though despised by those who think, because admired and respected by those who do not.

The most perfect degree of GOOD-BREEDING, as I have already hinted, is only to be acquired by great knowledge of the world, and keeping the best company. It is not the object of mere speculation, and cannot be exactly defined, as it consists in a fitness, a pro-

* Lord Chesterfield, being at Bath, shewed one of his last Worlds to his friend general Irwine, who dined with him almost every day. The general, in the course of the conversation, mentioned good-breeding as distinguished from mere civility, as a subject that deserved to be treated by him. His lordship at first declined it, but on his friend's insisting, and urging the singular propriety of its being undertaken by a man who was so perfect a master of the thing, he suddenly called for pen and ink, and wrote this excellent piece off hand, as he did all the others, without any rasure or interlineation. The paper, ever after, went by the name of general Irwine's paper.

priety of words, actions, and even looks, adapted to the infinite variety and combinations of persons, places, and things. It is a mode, not a substance : for what is GOOD-BREEDING at St. James's, would pass for foppery or banter in a remote village, and the homespun CIVILITY of that village, would be considered as brutality at court.

A cloystered pedant may form true notions of CIVILITY ; but if, amidst the cobwebs of his cell, he pretends to spin a speculative system of GOOD-BREEDING, he will not be less absurd than his predecessor, who judiciously undertook to instruct Hannibal in the art of war. The most ridiculous and most awkward of men are, therefore, the speculatively well-bred monks of all religions and all professions.

GOOD-BREEDING, like charity, not only covers a multitude of faults, but, to a certain degree, supplies the want of some virtues. In the common intercourse of life, it acts good-nature, and often does what good-nature will not always do ; it keeps both wits and fools within those bounds of decency, which the former are too apt to transgress, and which the latter never know.

Courts are unquestionably the seats of GOOD-BREEDING, and must necessarily be so ; otherwise they would be the seats of violence and desolation. There all the passions are in their highest state of fermentation. All pursue what but few can obtain, and many seek what but one can enjoy. GOOD-BREEDING alone restrains their excesses. There, if enemies did not embrace, they would stab. There, smiles are often put on, to conceal tears. There, mutual services are professed, while mutual injuries are intended ; and there, the guile of the serpent simulates the gentleness of the dove : all this, it is true, at the expence of sincerity, but, upon the whole, to the advantage of social intercourse in general.

I would not be misapprehended, and supposed to recommend GOOD-BREEDING, thus prophaned and prostituted to the purposes of guilt and perfidy ; but I think I may justly infer from it, to what a degree the accomplishment of GOOD-BREEDING must adorn and enforce virtue and truth, when it can thus soften the outrages and deformity of vice and falsehood.

I am

I am sorry to be obliged to confess that my native country is not perhaps the seat of the most perfect GOOD-BREEDING, though I really believe that it yields to none in hearty and sincere CIVILITY, as far as CIVILITY is, and to a certain degree it is, an inferior moral duty of doing as one would be done by. If France exceeds us in that particular, the incomparable author of *L'Esprit des Loix* accounts for it very impartially, and I believe very truly. "If my countrymen," says he, "are the best-bred people in the world, it is only because they are the vainest." It is certain that their GOOD-BREEDING and attentions, by flattering the vanity and self-love of others, repay their own with interest. It is a general commerce, usually carried on by a barter of attentions, and often without one grain of solid merit, by way of medium to make up the balance.

It were to be wished that GOOD-BREEDING were in general thought a more essential part of the education of our youth, especially of distinction, than at present it seems to be. It might even be substituted in the room of some academical studies, that take up a great deal of time to very little purpose; or at least, it might usefully share some of those many hours, that are so frequently employed upon a coach-box, or in stables. Surely those who, by their rank and fortune, are called to adorn courts, ought at least not to disgrace them by their manners.

But I observe with concern, that it is the fashion for our youth of both sexes to brand GOOD-BREEDING with the name of ceremony and formality. As such, they ridicule and explode it, and adopt in its stead an offensive carelessness and inattention, to the diminution, I will venture to say, even of their own pleasures, if they know what true pleasures are.

Love and friendship necessarily produce, and justly authorize, familiarity; but then GOOD-BREEDING must mark out its bounds, and say, thus far shalt thou go, and no farther; for I have known many a passion and many a friendship degraded, weakened, and at last, if I may use the expression, wholly flattered away, by an unguarded and illiberal familiarity. Nor is GOOD-BREEDING less the ornament and cement of common social life: it connects, it endears, and, at the same time that it indulges the just liberty, restrains that

in-

indecent licentiousness of conversation, which alienates and provokes. Great talents make a man famous, great merit makes him respected, and great learning makes him esteemed; but GOOD-BREEDING alone can make him be loved.

I recommend it in a more particular manner to my countrywomen, as the greatest ornament to such of them as have beauty, and the safest refuge for those who have not. It facilitates the victories, decorates the triumphs, and secures the conquests of beauty, or in some degree atones for the want of it. It almost deifies a fine woman, and procures respect at least to those, who have not charms enough to be admired.

Upon the whole, though GOOD-BREEDING cannot, strictly speaking, be called a virtue, yet it is productive of so many good effects, that, in my opinion, it may justly be reckoned more than a mere accomplishment.

XLII.

T H E W O R L D.

THURSDAY, NOV. 20, 1755.

No 151.

I WAS lately subpoenaed, by a card, to a general assembly at lady Townly's, where I went so awkwardly early, that I found nobody but the five or six people who had dined there, and who, for want of hands enough for play, were reduced to the cruel necessity of conversing, till something better should offer. Lady Townly observed with concern and impatience, "that people of fashion now
 " came intolerably late, and in a glut at once, which laid the lady
 " of the house under great difficulties, to make the parties properly."
 " That, no doubt," said Manly, " is to be lamented; and the
 " more so, as it seems to give your ladyship some concern: but in
 " the mean time, for want of something better to do, I should be
 " glad to know the true meaning of a term that you have just made
 " use of, *people of fashion*. I confess, I have never yet had a pre-
 cise

“ cise and clear idea of it; and I am sure I cannot apply more properly for information, than to this company, which is most unquestionably composed of *people of fashion*, whatever *people of fashion* may be. I therefore beg to know the meaning of that term: what are they, who are they, and what constitutes, I had almost said, anoints them, *people of fashion*?”

These questions, instead of receiving immediate answers, occasioned a general silence of above a minute, which perhaps was the result of the whole company's having discovered, for the first time, that they had long and often made use of a term which they had never understood: for a little reflection frequently produces those discoveries. Belinda first broke this silence, by saying, “ One well knows who are meant by *people of fashion*, though one does not just know how to describe them: they are those that one generally lives with; they are people of a certain sort.”—“ They certainly are so,” interrupted Manly; “ but the point is of what sort? If you mean by people of a certain sort, yourself, which is commonly the meaning of those who make use of that expression, you are indisputably in the right, as you have all the qualifications that can, or, at least, ought to constitute and adorn a *woman of fashion*. But pray, must all *women of fashion* have all your accomplishments? If so, the myriads of them which I had imagined from what I heard every day, and every where, will dwindle into a handful.” “ Without having those accomplishments which you so partially allow me,” answered Belinda, “ I still pretend to be a *woman of fashion*; a character, which I cannot think requires an uncommon share of talents or merit.” “ That is the very point,” replied Manly, “ which I want to come at; and therefore give me leave to question you a little more particularly. You have some advantages, which even your modesty will not allow you to disclaim, such as your birth and fortune: do they constitute you a *woman of fashion*?” As Belinda was going to answer, Bellair pertly interposed, and said, “ neither, to be sure, Mr. Manly: if birth constituted *fashion*, we must look for it in that inestimable treasure of useful knowledge, the peerage of England; or if wealth, we should find the very best at the Bank, and at Garraway's.” “ Well then, Bellair,” said Manly,

“ since you have taken upon you to be Belinda’s sponsor, let me
 “ ask you two or three questions, which You can more properly
 “ answer than she could. Is it her beauty ?” “ By no means nei-
 “ ther,” replied Bellair ; “ for at that rate, there might perhaps be a
 “ *woman of fashion* with a gold chain about her neck in the city, or,
 “ with a fat amber necklace in the country : prodigies, as yet un-
 “ heard of and unseen.” “ Is it then her wit and good-breeding ?”
 continued Manly. “ Each contributes,” answered Bellair, “ but both
 “ would not be sufficient, without a certain *je ne sçais quoi*, a some-
 “ thing or other that I feel better than I can explain.”

Here Dorimant, who had sat all this time silent, but looked mis-
 chievous, said, “ I could say something ” — “ Ay, and something
 “ very impertinent, according to custom,” answered Belinda ; “ so
 “ hold your tongue, I charge you.” “ You are singularly charitable,
 “ Belinda,” replied Dorimant, “ in being so sure that I was going to
 “ be impertinent, only because I was going to speak. Why this
 “ suspicion of me ?” “ Why ! because I know you to be an odious,
 “ abominable creature, upon all subjects of this kind.” This ami-
 cable quarrel was put an end to by Harriet, who, on a sudden, and
 with her usual vivacity, cried out, “ I am sure I have it now, and
 “ can tell you exactly “ what *people of fashion* are : they are just the
 “ reverse of your *odd people*.” “ Very possible, madam,” answered
 Manly, “ and therefore I could wish that you would give yourself the
 “ trouble of defining *odd people* ; and so, by the rule of contraries,
 “ help us to a true notion of *people of fashion*.” “ Ay, that I can very
 “ easily do,” said Harriet. “ In the first place, your *odd people* are
 “ those that one never lets in, unless one is at home to the whole
 “ town.” A little more particular, dear Harriet,” interrupted Manly.
 “ So I will,” said Harriet, “ for I hate them all. There are several
 “ sorts of them. Your prudes, for instance, who respect and value
 “ themselves upon the unblemished purity of their characters ; who
 “ rail at the indecency of the times, censure the most innocent
 “ freedoms, and suspect the Lord knows what, if they do but ob-
 “ serve a close and familiar whisper between a man and a woman,
 “ in a remote corner of the room. There are besides, a sober,
 “ formal, sort of married women, insipid creatures, who lead do-
 “ mestic

“ meftic lives, and who can be merry, as they think, at home, with
 “ their own and their husband’s relations, particularly at Chriftnas.
 “ Like turtles, they are true and tender to their lawful mates, and
 “ breed like rabbits, to beggar and perpetuate their families. Thefe
 “ are very *odd women*, to be fure ; but deliver me from your fevere
 “ and auguft dowagers, who are the fcourges of *people of fashion*,
 “ by infefing all public places, in order to make their fpiteful re-
 “ marks. One meets them every where, and they feem to have
 “ the fecret of multiplying themfelves into ten different places at
 “ once. Their poor horfes, like thofe of the fun, go round the world
 “ every day, baiting only at eleven in the morning, and fix in the
 “ evening, at their parifh churches. They fpeak as movingly of
 “ their *poor late lords*, as if they had ever cared for one another ;
 “ and, to do them honor, repeat fome of the many filly things they
 “ ufed to fay. Laftly, there are your maiden ladies of riper years,
 “ orphans of diftinction, who live together by twos and threes,
 “ who club their ftocks for a neat little houfe, a light-bodied coach,
 “ and a foot-boy—” “ And,” added Bellair, “ quarrel every day
 “ about the dividend.” “ True,” faid Harriet, “ they are not the
 “ sweeteft-tempered creatures in the world ; but, after all, one
 “ muft forgive them fome malignity, in confideration of their
 “ difappointments. Well, have I now described *odd people* to your
 “ fatisfaction ?” “ Admirably,” answered Manly ; “ and fo well,
 “ that one can, to a great degree at leaft, judge of their antipodes,
 “ *the people of fashion*. But ftill there feems fomething wanting ;
 “ for the prefent account, by the rule of contraries, ftands only
 “ thus : that *women of fashion* muft not care for their husbands,
 “ muft not go to church, and muft not have unblemifhed, or at leaft
 “ unfufpected, reputations. Now, though all thefe are very com-
 “ mendable qualifications, it muft be owned, they are but negative
 “ ones, and confequently there muft be fome pofitive ones neces-
 “ fary to compleat fo amiable a character.” “ I was going to add,”
 interrupted Harriet, “ which, by the way, was more than I engaged
 “ for, that *people of fashion* were properly thofe who fet the fashions,
 “ and who gave the tone of drefs, language, manners, and pleasures,
 “ to the town.” “ I admit it,” faid Manly ; “ but what I want ftill

“ to know is, who gave them power, or did they usurp it ? for,
 “ by the nature of that power, it does not seem to me to admit of
 “ a succession by hereditary and divine right.” “ Were I allowed
 “ to speak,” said Dorimant, “ perhaps I could both shorten and
 “ clear up this case. But I dare not, unless Belinda, to whom I
 “ profess implicit obedience, gives me leave.” “ Even let him
 “ speak, Belinda,” said Harriet ; “ I know he will abuse us, but we
 “ are used to him.” “ Well, say your say then,” said Belinda. “ See
 “ what an impertinent sneer he has already.” Upon this Dorimant,
 addressing himself more particularly to Belinda, and smiling, said,

“ Then think

“ That he, who thus commanded dares to speak,
 “ Unless commanded, would have died in silence.”

“ O, your servant, sir, said Belinda ;” that fit of humility will, I am
 “ sure, not last long ; but however go on.” “ I will, to answer
 “ Manly’s question,” said Dorimant, “ which, by the way, has some-
 “ thing the air of a catechism. Who made these *people of fashion* ?
 “ I give this short and plain answer ; they made one another. The
 “ men, by their attentions and credit, make the *women of fashion* ;
 “ and the women, by either their supposed or real favours, make
 “ the *men* such. They are mutually necessary to each other.”
 “ Impertinent enough of all conscience,” said Belinda. “ So, without
 “ the assistance of you fashionable men, what should we poor
 “ women be ?” “ Why faith,” replied Dorimant, “ but *odd women*,
 “ I doubt, as we should be but odd fellows without your friendly
 “ aid to fashion us. In one word, a frequent and reciprocal colli-
 “ sion of the two sexes is absolutely necessary, to give one that high
 “ polish, which is properly called *fashion*.” “ Mr. Dorimant has,
 “ I own,” said Manly, “ opened new and important matter ; and my
 “ scattered and confused notions seem now to take some form, and
 “ tend to a point. But, as examples always best clear up abstruse
 “ matters, let us now propose some examples of both sorts, and take
 “ the opinions of the company upon them. For instance, I will
 “ offer one to your consideration. Is Berynthia a *woman of fashion*
 “ or not ?” The whole company readily, and almost at once, an-
 swered, “ Doubtless she is.” “ That may be,” said Manly, “ but
 “ why?

“ why? For she has neither birth nor fortune, and but small remains
 “ of beauty.” “ All that is true, I confess,” said Belinda; “ but she
 “ is well drest, well bred, good humored, and always ready to go
 “ with one any where.” “ Might I presume,” said Dorimant, “ to
 “ add a title, and perhaps the best, to her claims of *fashion*, I should
 “ say that she was of Belville’s creation, who is the very fountain of
 “ honor of that sort. He dignified her by his addresses; and those
 “ who have the good fortune to share his reputation”—“Have,” said
 “ Belinda with some warmth, “ the misfortune to lose their own.”
 “ I told you,” turning to Harriet, “ what would happen if we al-
 “ lowed him to speak: and just so it has happened; for the gentle-
 “ man has almost in plain terms asserted, that a woman cannot be a
 “ *woman of fashion* till she has lost her reputation.” “ Fye, Belinda,
 “ how you wrong me!” replied Dorimant. “ Lost her reputation!
 “ Such a thought never entered into my head; I only meant mislaid
 “ it. With a very little care she will find it again.” “ There you
 “ are in the right,” said Bellair; “ for it is most certain that the re-
 “ putation of a *woman of fashion* should not be too muddy.” “ True,”
 replied Dorimant, “ nor too limpid neither; it must not be mere
 “ rock water, cold and clear; it should sparkle a little.” “ Well,
 said Harriet, “ now that Berynthia is unanimously voted a *woman of*
 “ *fashion*, what think you of Loveit? Is she, or is she not one?”
 “ If she is one,” answered Dorimant, “ I am very much mistaken
 “ if it is not of Mirabel’s creation.”—“ By *writ*, I believe,” said
 Bellair, “ for I saw him give her a letter one night at the opera.”
 “ But she has other good claims too,” added Dorimant. “ Her for-
 “ tune, though not large, is easy; and nobody fears certain
 “ applications from her. She has a small house of her own, which
 “ she has fitted up very prettily, and is often *at home*, not to crowds
 “ indeed, but to people of the best fashion, from twenty, occasion-
 “ ally down to two; and let me tell you, that nothing makes a
 “ woman of Loveit’s sort better received abroad, than being often *at*
 “ *home*.” “ I own,” said Bellair, “ that I looked upon her rather as
 “ a genteel led-captain, a postscript to *women of fashion*.” “ Perhaps
 “ too sometimes the cover,” answered Dorimant, “ and if so, an
 “ equal. You may joke as much as you please upon poor Loveit,

“ but she is the best humored creature in the world ; and I maintain
 “ her to be a *woman of fashion* ; for, in short, we all roll with her, as
 “ the soldiers say.” “ I want to know,” said Belinda, “ what you
 “ will determine upon a character very different from the two last,
 “ I mean lady Loveless : is she a *woman of fashion* ?” “ Dear Belinda,”
 answered Harriet hastily, “ how could she possibly come into your
 “ head ?” “ Very naturally,” said Belinda ; “ she has birth, beauty,
 “ and fortune ; she is well bred.” “ I own it,” said Harriet ; “ but
 “ still she is handsome without meaning, well shaped without air,
 “ genteel without graces, and well dressed without taste. She is such
 “ an insipid creature, she seldom comes about, but lives at home
 “ with her lord, and so domestically tame, that she eats out of his
 “ hand, and teaches her young ones to peck out of her own. Odd,
 “ very odd, take my word for it.” “ Ay, mere rock water,” said
 Dorimant, “ and, as I told you an hour ago, that will not do.”
 “ No, most certainly,” added Bellair ; “ all that reserve, simplicity,
 “ and coldness, can never do. It seems to me rather that the
 “ true composition of *people of fashion*, like that of Venice treacle,
 “ consists of an infinite number of fine ingredients, but all of the
 “ warm kind.” “ Truce with your filthy treacle,” said Harriet ;
 “ and since the conversation has hitherto chiefly turned upon us
 “ poor women, I think we have a right to insist upon the definition
 “ of you *men of fashion*.” “ No doubt of it,” said Dorimant ; “ no-
 “ thing is more just, and nothing more easy. Allowing some small
 “ difference for modes and habits, the *men* and the *women of fashion*
 “ are in truth the counterparts of each other : they fit like tallies,
 “ are made of the same wood, and are cut out for one another.”

As Dorimant was going on, probably to illustrate his assertion, a
 valet de chambre proclaimed in a solemn manner the arrival of the
 dutchess dowager of Mattadore and her three daughters, who were
 immediately followed by lord Formal, sir Peter Plausible, and divers
 others of both sexes, and of equal importance. The lady of the
 house, with infinite skill and indefatigable pains, soon peopled the
 several card-tables, with the greatest propriety, and to universal
 satisfaction ; and the night concluded with flames, honors, best-games,
 pairs, pair-royals, and all other such rational demonstrations of joy.

For

For my own part, I made my escape as soon as I possibly could, with my head full of that most extraordinary conversation, which I had just heard, and which, from having taken no part in it, I had attended to the more, and retained the better. I went straight home, and immediately reduced it into writing, as I here offer it for the present edification of my readers. But, as it has furnished me with great and new lights, I propose, as soon as possible, to give the public a new and compleat system of ethics, founded upon these principles of *people of fashion*; as, in my opinion, they are better calculated than many others, for the use and instruction of all private families.

 XLIII.

THE WORLD.

THURSDAY, Aug. 12, 1756.

Nº 189.

WE are accused by the French, and perhaps but too justly, of having no word in our language, which answers to their word *police*, which therefore we have been obliged to adopt, not having, as they say, the thing.

It does not occur to me that we have any one word in our language, I hope not from the same reason, to express the ideas which they comprehend under their word *les mœurs*. *Manners* are too little, *morals* too much. I should define it thus; *a general exterior decency, fitness, and propriety of conduct, in the common intercourse of life.*

Cicero, in his *Offices*, makes use of the word *decorum* in this sense, to express what the Greeks signified by their word (I will not shock the eyes of my polite readers with Greek types) *to prepon*.

The thing however is unquestionably of importance, by whatever word it may be dignified or degraded, distinguished or mistaken;

it shall therefore be the subject of this paper to explain and recommend it; and upon this occasion I shall adopt the word *decorum*.

But, as I have some private reasons for desiring not to lessen the sale of these my lucubrations, I must premise, that, notwithstanding this serious introduction, I am not going to preach either religious or moral duties. On the contrary, it is a scheme of interest which I mean to communicate, and which, if the supposed characteristic of the present age be true, must, I should apprehend, be highly acceptable to the generality of my readers.

I take it for granted that the most sensible and informed part of mankind, I mean people of fashion, pursue singly their own interests and pleasures; that they desire as far as possible to enjoy them exclusively, and to avail themselves of the simplicity, the ignorance, and the prejudices, of the vulgar, who have neither the same strength of mind, nor the same advantages of education. Now it is certain that nothing would more contribute to that desirable end, than a strict observance of this *decorum*, which, as I have already hinted, does not extend to religious or moral duties, does not prohibit the enjoyments of vice, but only throws a veil of decency between it and the vulgar, conceals part of its native deformity, and prevents scandal, and bad example. It is a sort of pepper-corn quit-rent paid to virtue, as an acknowledgment of its superiority; but, according to our present constitution, is the easy price of freedom, not the tribute of vassalage.

Those who would be respected by others, must first respect themselves. A certain exterior purity and dignity of character, commands respect, procures credit, and invites confidence; but the public exercise and ostentation of vice has all the contrary effects.

The middle class of people in this country, though generally straining to imitate their betters, have not yet shaken off the prejudices of their education; very many of them still believe in a supreme being, in a future state of rewards and punishments, and retain some coarse, home-spun notions of moral good and evil. The rational system of materialism has not yet reached them, and, in my opinion, it may be full as well it never should; for, as I am not of levelling principles,

ples, I am for preserving a due subordination from inferiors to superiors, which an equality of profligacy must totally destroy.

A fair character is a more lucrative thing than people are generally aware of; and I am informed that an eminent money-scriver has lately calculated with great accuracy the advantage of it, and that it has turned out a clear profit of thirteen and a half *per cent* in the general transactions of life; which advantage, frequently repeated, as it must be in the course of the year, amounts to a very considerable object.

To proceed to a few instances. If the courtier would but wear the appearance of truth, promise less, and perform more, he would acquire such a degree of trust and confidence, as would enable him to strike on a sudden, and with success, some splendid stroke of perfidy, to the infinite advantage of himself and his party.

A patriot, of all people, should be a strict observer of this *decorum*, if he would, as it is to be presumed he would, bear a good price at the court market. The love of his dear country, well acted and little felt, will certainly get him into good keeping, and perhaps procure him a handsome settlement for life; but, if his prostitution be flagrant, he is only made use of in cases of the utmost necessity, and even then only by cullies. I must observe by the bye, that of late the market has been a little glutted with patriots, and consequently they do not sell quite so well.

Few masters of families are, I should presume, desirous to be robbed indiscriminately by all their servants; and as servants in general are more afraid of the devil, and less of the gallows, than their masters, it seems to be as imprudent as indecent to remove that wholesome fear, either by their examples, or their philosophical dissertations, exploding in their presence, though ever so justly, all the idle notions of future punishments, or of moral good and evil. At present, honest faithful servants rob their masters conscientiously only in their respective stations: but take away those checks and restraints which the prejudices of their education have laid them under, they will soon rob indiscriminately, and out of their several departments; which would probably create some little confusion in families, especially in numerous ones.

I cannot

I cannot omit observing, that this *decorum* extends to the little trifling offices of common life; such as seeming to take a tender and affectionate part, in the health or fortune of your acquaintance, and a readiness and alacrity to serve them, in things of little consequence to them, and of none at all to you. These attentions bring in good interest; the weak and the ignorant mistake them for the real sentiments of your heart, and give you their esteem and friendship in return. The wife, indeed, pay you in your own coin, or by a truck of commodities of equal value, upon which, however, there is no loss; so that, upon the whole, this commerce, skilfully carried on, is a very lucrative one.

In all my schemes for the general good of mankind, I have always a particular attention to the utility that may arise from them to my fair fellow-subjects, for whom I have the tenderest and most unfeigned concern; and I lay hold of this opportunity, most earnestly to recommend to them the strictest observance of this *decorum*. I will admit that a fine woman of a certain rank cannot have too many real vices; but, at the same time, I do insist upon it, that it is essentially her interest, not to have the appearance of any one. This *decorum*, I confess, will conceal her conquests, and prevent her triumphs; but, on the other hand, if she will be pleased to reflect that those conquests are known, sooner or later, always to end in her total defeat, she will not upon an average find herself a loser. There are indeed some husbands of such humane and hospitable dispositions, that they seem determined to share all their happiness with their friends and acquaintance; so that, with regard to such husbands singly, this *decorum* were useless: but the far greater number are of a churlish and uncommunicative disposition, troublesome upon bare suspicions, and brutal upon proofs. These are capable of inflicting upon the fair delinquent the pains and penalties of exile and imprisonment at the dreadful mansion-seat, notwithstanding the most solemn protestations and oaths, backed with the most moving tears, that nothing really criminal has passed. But it must be owned that, of all negatives, that is much the hardest to be proved.

Though deep play be a very innocent and even commendable amusement in itself, it is however, as things are yet constituted, a
great

great breach, nay perhaps the highest violation possible, of the *decorum* in the fair sex. If generally fortunate, it induces some suspicion of dexterity; if unfortunate, of debt; and in this latter case, the ways and means for raising the supplies necessary for the current year, are sometimes supposed to be unwarrantable. But what is still much more important, is, that the agonies of an ill run will disfigure the finest face in the world, and cause most ungraceful emotions. I have known a bad game, suddenly produced upon a good game, for a deep stake at bragg or commerce, almost make the vermillion turn pale, and elicit from lips, where the sweets of Hybla dwelt, and where the loves and graces played, some murmured oaths, which, though minced and mitigated a little in their terminations, seemed to me, upon the whole, to be rather unbecoming.

Another singular advantage, which will arise to my fair countrywomen of distinction from the observance of this *decorum*, is, that they will never want some creditable led-captain to attend them at a minute's warning to operas, plays, Ranelagh, and Vauxhall; whereas I have known some women of extreme condition, who, by neglecting the *decorum*, had flattered away their characters to such a degree, as to be obliged upon those emergencies to take up with mere toad-eaters of very equivocal rank and character, who by no means graced their entry into public places.

To the young unmarried ladies, I beg leave to represent, that this *decorum* will make a difference of at least five-and-twenty if not fifty *per cent.* in their fortunes. The pretty men, who have commonly the honor of attending them, are not in general the marrying kind of men; they love them too much, or too little, know them too well, or not well enough, to think of marrying them. The husband-like men are a set of awkward fellows with good estates, and who, not having got the better of vulgar prejudices, lay some stress upon the characters of their wives, and the legitimacy of the heirs to their estates and titles. These are to be caught only by *les mœurs*; the hook must be baited with the *decorum*; the naked one will not do.

I must own that it seems too severe to deny young ladies the innocent amusements of the present times, but I beg of them to recollect that I mean only with regard to outward appearances; and I

should presume that *tête-à-têtes* with the pretty men might be contrived and brought about in places less public than Kenfington-gardens, the two parks, the high roads, or the streets of London.

Having thus combined, as I flatter myself that I have, the solid enjoyments of vice, with the useful appearances of virtue, I think myself entitled to the thanks of my country in general, and to that just praise which Horace gives to the author, *qui miscuit utile dulci*; or, in English, who joins the useful with the agreeable.

XLIV.

THE WORLD.

THURSDAY, Sept. 30, 1756.

N^o 196.

IT is a vulgar notion, and worthy of the vulgar, for it is both false and absurd, that passionate people are the best-natured people in the world. *They are a little hasty, it is true; a trifle will put them in a fury; and while they are in that fury, they neither know nor care what they say or do: but then as soon as it is over, they are extremely sorry and penitent for any injury or mischief they did.* This panegyric of these choleric good-natured people, when examined and simplified, amounts in plain common sense and English to this: that they are good-natured when they are not ill-natured; and that when, in their fits of rage, they have said or done things that have brought them to the gaol or the gallows, they are extremely sorry for it. It is indeed highly probable that they are; but where is the reparation to those whose reputations, limbs, or lives, they have either wounded or destroyed? This concern comes too late, and is only for themselves. Self-love was the cause of the injury, and is the only motive of the repentance.

Had these furious people real good nature, their first offence would be their last, and they would resolve at all events never to relapse.

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The moment they felt their choler rising, they would enjoin themselves an absolute silence and inaction, and by that sudden check rather expose themselves to a momentary ridicule, which, by the way, would be followed by universal applause, than run the least risk of being irreparably mischievous.

I know it is said in their behalf, that this impulse to wrath is constitutionally so sudden and so strong, that they cannot stifle it, even in its birth : but experience shews us, that this allegation is notoriously false ; for we daily observe that these stormy persons both can and do lay those gusts of passion, when awed by respect, restrained by interest, or intimidated by fear. The most outrageous furioso does not give a loose to his anger in presence of his sovereign, or his mistress ; nor the expectant heir in presence of the peevish dotard from whom he hopes for an inheritance. The soliciting courtier, though perhaps under the strongest provocations from unjust delays and broken promises, calmly swallows his unavailing wrath, disguises it even under smiles, and gently waits for more favourable moments : nor does the criminal fly in a passion at his judge or his jury.

There is then but one solid excuse to be alledged in favour of these people ; and, if they will frankly urge it, I will candidly admit it, because it points out its own remedy. I mean, let them fairly confess themselves mad, as they most unquestionably are : for what plea can those that are frantic ten times a day, bring against shaving, bleeding, and a dark room, when so many much more harmless madmen are confined in their cells at Bedlam, for being mad only once in a moon ? Nay, I have been assured by the late ingenious doctor Monro, that such of his patients who are really of a good-natured disposition, and who, in their lucid intervals, were allowed the liberty of walking about the hospital, would frequently, when they found the previous symptoms of their returning madness, voluntarily apply for confinement, conscious of the mischief which they might possibly do if at liberty. If those who pretend not to be mad, but who really are so, had the same fund of good-nature, they would make the same application to their friends, if they have any.

There is in the *Menagiana* a very pretty story of one of these angry gentlemen, which sets their extravagancy in a very ridiculous light.

Two gentlemen were riding together, one of whom, who was a choleric one, happened to be mounted on a high-mettled horse. The horse grew a little troublesome, at which the rider grew very angry, and whipped and spurred him with great fury; to which the horse, almost as wrongheaded as his master, replied with kicking and plunging. The companion, concerned for the danger, and ashamed of the folly of his friend, said to him coolly, "Be quiet, be quiet, and shew yourself the wiser of the two."

This sort of madness, for I will call it by no other name, flows from various causes, of which I shall now enumerate the most general.

Light unballasted heads are very apt to be overfret by every gust, or even breeze, of passion; they appretiate things wrong, and think every thing of importance, but what really is so: hence those frequent and sudden transitions from silly joy to sillier anger, according as the present silly humour is gratified or thwarted. This is the never-failing characteristic of the uneducated vulgar, who often in the same half-hour fight with fury, and shake hands with affection. Such heads give themselves no time to reason; and, if you attempt to reason with them, they think you rally them, and resent the affront. They are, in short, overgrown children, and continue so in the most advanced age. Far be it from me to insinuate, what some ill-bred authors have bluntly asserted, that this is in general the case of the fairest part of our species, whose great vivacity does not always allow them time to reason consequentially, but hurries them into testiness upon the least opposition to their will. But, at the same time, with all the partiality which I have for them, and nobody can have more than I have, I must confess that, in all their debates, I have much more admired the copiousness of their rhetoric, than the conclusiveness of their logic.

People of strong animal spirits, warm constitutions, and a cold genius, a most unfortunate and ridiculous though common compound, are most irascible animals, and very dangerous in their wrath. They are active, puzzling, blundering, and petulantly enterprising

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and persevering. They are impatient of the least contradiction, having neither arguments nor words to reply with; and the animal part of their composition bursts out into furious explosions, which have often mischievous consequences. Nothing is too outrageous or criminal for them to say or do in these fits; but, as the beginning of their frenzy is easily discoverable, by their glaring eyes, inflamed countenances, and rapid motions, the company, as conservators of the peace, which, by the way, every man is till the authority of a magistrate can be procured, should forcibly seize these madmen, and confine them in the mean time, in some dark closet, vault, or coal-hole.

Men of nice honor, without one grain of common honesty, for such there are, are wonderfully combustible. The honorable is to support and protect the dishonest part of their character. The consciousness of their guilt makes them both sore and jealous.

There is another and very irascible sort of human animals, whose madness proceeds from pride. These are generally the people, who, having just fortunes sufficient to live idle, and useless to society, create themselves gentlemen, and are scrupulously tender of the rank and dignity which they have not. They require the more respect, from being conscious that they have no right to any. They construe every thing into a slight, ask explanations with heat, and misunderstand them with fury. "Who are you? What are you? Do you know who you speak to? I will teach you to be silent to a gentleman," are their daily idioms of speech, which frequently end in assault and battery, to the great emolument of the Round-house and Crown-office.

I have known many young fellows, who, at their first setting out into the world, or in the army, have simulated a passion which they did not feel, merely as an indication of *spirit*, which word is falsely looked upon as synonymous with courage. They dress and look fierce, swear enormously, and rage furiously, seduced by that popular word, *spirit*. But I beg leave to inform these mistaken young gentlemen, whose error I compassionate, that the true spirit of a rational being consists in cool and steady resolution, which can only be the result of reflection and virtue.

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I am very forry to be obliged to own, that there is not a more irritable part of the species, than my brother authors. Criticism, censure, or even the slightest disapprobation of their immortal works, excite their most furious indignation. It is true, indeed, that they express their resentment in a manner less dangerous both to others and to themselves. Like incensed porcupines, they dart their quills at the objects of their wrath. The wounds given by these shafts are not mortal, and only painful in proportion to the distance from whence they fly. Those which are discharged, as by much the greatest numbers are, from great heights, such as garrets or four-pair-of-stair rooms, are puffed away by the wind, and never hit the mark; but those which are let off from a first or second floor, are apt to occasion a little smarting, and sometimes festering, especially if the party wounded be unbound.

Our GREAT CREATOR has wisely given us passions, to rouse us into action, and to engage our gratitude to him by the pleasures they procure us; but, at the same time, he has kindly given us reason sufficient, if we will but give that reason fair play, to controul those passions; and has delegated authority to say to them, as he said to the waters, "thus far shall ye go, and no farther." The angry man is his own severest tormentor; his breast knows no peace, while his raging passions are restrained by no sense of either religious or moral duties. What would be his case, if his unforgiving example, if I may use such an expression, were followed by his ALL MERCIFUL MAKER, whose forgiveness he can only hope for, in proportion as he himself forgives and loves his fellow-creatures!

XLV.

THE WORLD.

THURSDAY, Oct. 7, 1756.

N^o 197.

IF we give credit to the vulgar opinion, or even to the assertions of some reputable authors, both antient and modern, poor human nature was not originally formed for keeping : every age has degenerated ; and, from the fall of the first man, my unfortunate ancestor, our species has been tumbling on, century by century, from bad to worse, for about six thousand years.

Considering this progressive state of deterioration, it is a very great mercy that things are no worse with us at present ; since, geometrically speaking, the human ought by this time to have sunk infinitely below the brute and the vegetable species, which are neither of them supposed to have dwindled or degenerated considerably, except in a very few instances : for it must be owned that our modern oaks are inferior to those of Dodona, our breed of horses to that of the Centaurs, and our breed of fowls to that of the Phoenixes.

But is this really the case ? Certainly not. It is only one of those many errors which are artfully scattered by the designs of a few, and blindly adopted by the ignorance and folly of the many. The moving exclamations of --- *these sad times ! this degenerate age !* the affecting lamentations over *declining virtue* and *triumphant vice*, and the tender and final farewell bidden every day to unrewarded and discouraged public spirit, arts, and sciences, are the commonplace topics of the pride, the envy, and the malignity, of the human heart, that can more easily forgive, and even commend, antiquated and remote, than bear cotemporary and contiguous, merit. Men of these mean sentiments have always been the satirists of their own, and the panegyrists of former times. They give this tone, which fools, like birds in the dark, catch by ear, and whistle all day long.

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As it has constantly been my endeavor to root out, if I could, or, if I could not, to expose, the vices of the human heart, it shall be the object of this day's paper to examine this strange inverted entail of virtue and merit upwards, according to priority of birth, and seniority of age. I shall prove it to be forged, and consequently null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

If I loved to jingle, I would say that human nature has always been invariably the same, though always varying; that is, the same in substance, but varying in forms and modes, from many concurrent causes, of which perhaps we know but few. Climate, education, accidents, severally contribute to change those modes; but in all climates, and in all ages, we discover through them the same passions, affections, and appetites, and the same degree of virtues and vices.

This being unquestionably the true state of the case, which it would be endless to bring instances to prove, from the histories of all times and of all nations, I shall, by way of warning to the incautious, and of reproof to the designing, proceed to explain the reasons, which I have but just hinted at above, why the human nature of the time being, has always been reckoned the worst and most degenerate.

Authors, especially poets, though great men, are, alas! but men; and, like other men, subject to the weaknesses of human nature, though perhaps in a less degree: but it is however certain that their breasts are not absolutely strangers to the passions of jealousy, pride, and envy. Hence it is that they are very apt to measure merit by the century, to love dead authors better than living ones, and to love them the better, the longer they have been dead. The Augustan age is therefore their favorite æra, being at least seventeen hundred years distant from the present. That emperor was not only a judge of wit, but, for an emperor, a tolerable performer too; and Mæcenas, his first minister, was both a patron and a poet: he not only encouraged and protected, but fed and fattened men of wit at his own table, as appears from Horace: no small encouragement for panegyric. Those were times indeed for genius to display itself in! It was honored, tasted, and rewarded. But now ----- *O tempora! O mores!* One must however do justice to the authors, who thus
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declaim against their own times, by acknowledging that they are seldom the aggressors ; their own times have commonly begun with them. It is their resentment, not their judgment, if they have any, that speaks this language. Anger and despair make them endeavour to lower that merit, which, till brought very low indeed, they are conscious they cannot equal.

There is another and more numerous set of much greater men, who still more loudly complain of the ignorance, the corruption, and the degeneracy, of the present age. These are the consummate volunteer, but unregarded and unrewarded politicians, who, at a modest computation, amount to at least three millions of souls in this political country, and who are all of them both able and willing to steer the great vessel of the state, and to take upon themselves the whole load of business, and burthen of *employments*, for the service of their dear country. The administration for the time being is always the worst, the most incapable, the most corrupt, that ever was, and negligent of every thing but their own interest. *Where are now your Cecils and your Walsinghams ?* Those who ask that question could answer it, if they would speak out, *Themselves* : for they are all that, and more too.

I spent the other day, in order only to inquire how my poor country did, into a coffee-house, that is without dispute the seat of the soundest politics in this great metropolis, and sat myself down within ear-shot of the principal council-table. Fortunately for me, the president, a person of age, dignity, and becoming gravity, had just begun to speak. He stated, with infinite perspicuity and knowledge, the present state of affairs in other countries, and the lamentable situation of our own. He traced with his finger upon the table, by the help of some coffee which he had spilt in the warmth of his exordium, the whole course of the Ohio, and the boundaries of the Russian, Prussian, Austrian, and Saxon dominions ; foresaw a long and bloody war upon the continent, calculated the supplies necessary for carrying it on, and pointed out the best methods of raising them, which, for that very reason, he intimated, would not be pursued. He wound up his discourse with a most pathetic peroration, which he concluded with saying, *Things*

were not carried on in this manner in queen Elizabeth's days ; the public was considered, and able men were consulted and employed. Those were days ! " Aye, fir, and nights too, I presume," said a young fellow who stood near him, " some longer and some shorter, according to the variation of the seasons ; pretty much like ours." Mr. President was a little surprized at the suddenness and pertness of this interruption ; but, recomposing himself, answered with that cool contempt that becomes a great man, " I did not mean astronomical days, but political ones." The young fellow replied, " O then, fir, I am your servant," and went off in a laugh.

Thus informed and edified, I went off too, but could not help reflecting in my way upon the singular ill-luck of this my dear country, which, as long as ever I remember it, and as far back as I have read, has always been governed by the only two or three people, out of two or three millions, totally incapable of governing, and unfit to be trusted. But these reflections were soon interrupted by numbers of people, whom I observed crowding into a public house. Among them I discovered my worthy friend and taylor, that industrious mechanic, Mr. Regnier. I applied to him to know the meaning of that concourse ; to which, with his usual humanity, he answered, " We are the master-tailors, who are to meet to-night to consider what is to be done about our journeymen, who insult and impose upon us, to the great detriment of trade." I asked him whether, under his protection, I might slip in and hear their deliberations. He said, " Yes, and welcome ; for that they should do nothing to be ashamed of." I profited of this permission, and, following him into the room, found a considerable number of these ingenious artists assembled, and waiting only for the arrival of my friend, who it seems was too considerable for business to begin without him. He accordingly took the lead, opened the meeting with a very handsome speech, in which he gave many instances of the insolence, the unreasonableness, and the exorbitant demands, of the journeymen tailors, and concluded with observing, " that, if the government minded any thing now-a-days but themselves, such abuses would not have been suffered ; and had they been but attempted in queen Elizabeth's days, she would have worked them
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“ with a witness.” Another orator then rose up to speak ; but, as I was sure that he could say nothing better than what had just fallen from my worthy friend, I stole off unobserved, and was pursuing my way home, when in the very next street I discovered a much greater number of people, though by their dress of seemingly inferior note, rushing into another public house. As numbers always excite my curiosity, almost as much as they do each other’s passions, I crowded in with them, in order to discover the object of this meeting, not without some suspicion that this frequent senate might be composed of the journeymen taylor, and convened in opposition to that which I had just left. My suspicion was soon confirmed by the eloquence of a journeyman, a finisher I presume, who expatiated, with equal warmth and dignity, upon the injustice and oppression of the master taylor, to the utter ruin of thousands of poor journeymen and their families ; and concluded with asserting, “ it was a shame that the government and the parliament did not take care of such abuses ; and that, had the master taylor done these things in queen Elizabeth’s days, she would have *mastered* them with a vengeance, so she would.”

I confess I could not help smiling at this singular conformity of sentiments, and almost of expressions, of the master politicians, the master taylor, and the journeymen taylor. I am convinced that the two latter really and honestly believed what they said ; it not being in the least improbable that their understandings should be the dupes of their interests : but I will not so peremptorily answer for the interior conviction of the political orator, though at the same time I must do him the justice to say, he seemed full dull enough to be very much in earnest.

The several scenes of this day suggested to me when I got home various reflections, which perhaps I may communicate to my readers in some future paper.

XLVI.

SPEECH ON THE LICENSING BILL.

THE editor, being desirous of giving a specimen of lord Chesterfield's eloquence, has made choice of the three following speeches; the first in the strong nervous style of Demosthenes, the two latter in the witty, ironical manner of Tully. That he had studied with attention these great models, and endeavoured to imitate them, will not escape the notice of those, who will be at the trouble of comparing their orations with his. But his imitation is that of a man of genius and taste, who improves whatever he touches, not of that herd of retailers so justly distinguished by the name of *imitatores, servile pecus*.

The first abstract of this speech on the licensing bill, appeared in Fog's Journal, N^o 5. It was incorrect and defective, especially in the part relating to the line of the poet, applied to Pompey. This gave a handle to the authors of the Gazetteer, ever on the watch on these occasions, to fall upon the noble speaker, and to refer him to Tully, to whom we owe the fullest account of this occurrence, *Ep. ad Att. II. 19*. Their triumph was short, and the speech was published in the Magazines the very next month, probably not without the earl's consent, and thence verbatim in the debates of the house of lords, vol. V. p. 210. The following abstract from these will be sufficient to give an idea of the subject of the discourse. "The only remarkable (occurrence) of this session, which remains to be taken notice of, is contained in the proceedings upon the bill, to explain and amend so much of an act made in the twelfth year of the reign of queen Anne, entitled, *An act for reducing the laws relating to rogues, vagabonds, sturdy beggars and vagrants, into one act of parliament; and for the more effectual punishing such rogues, vagabonds, sturdy beggars, and vagrants, and sending them whither they ought to be sent, as relates to common players of interludes*. The bill, which was passed into a law, and remains still in force, was ordered by the house of commons to be prepared

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“ and brought in on Friday the 20th of May, and was occasioned
 “ by a farce called *the golden rump*, which had been brought to the
 “ then master * of the theatre in Lincoln’s-inn-fields, who, upon
 “ perusal, found it was designed as a libel upon the government,
 “ and therefore, instead of having it acted, he carried it to a
 “ gentleman concerned in the administration; and he having
 “ communicated it to some other members of the house of com-
 “ mons, it was resolved to move for leave to bring in a bill for
 “ preventing any such attempt for the future; and the motion
 “ being complied with by that house upon the 20th of May, 1737,
 “ the bill was brought in on Tuesday the 24th, and passed
 “ through both houses with such dispatch, that it was ready for
 “ the royal assent by Wednesday the 8th of June, and accord-
 “ ingly received the royal assent on Tuesday the 21st, when his
 “ majesty put an end to this session of parliament.

“ In both houses there were long debates, and great opposi-
 “ tion to this bill, in every step it made; and in the house of
 “ lords the following is the substance of what was said by
 “ the earl of Chesterfield against it viz.;

“ MY LORDS,

THE bill now before you I apprehend to be of a very extraordinary,
 a very dangerous, nature. It seems designed not only as a
 restraint on the licentiousness of the stage; but it will prove a most
 arbitrary restraint on the liberty of the stage, and I fear, it looks yet
 further, I fear it tends towards a restraint on the liberty of the press,
 which will be a long stride towards the destruction of liberty itself.
 It is not only a bill, my lords, of a very extraordinary nature, but
 it has been brought in at a very extraordinary season, and pushed
 with most extraordinary dispatch. When I considered how near it
 was to the end of the session, and how long this session had been
 protracted beyond the usual time of the year; when I considered
 that this bill passed through the other house with so much preci-

* One Mr. Giffard, who had removed thither with a company of players, from Good-
 man’s-fields, where he had a theatre, which was silenced by this very act.

pitancy,

pitancy, as even to get the start of a bill which deserved all the respect, and all the dispatch, the forms of either house of parliament could admit of; it set me upon inquiring, what could be the reason for introducing this bill at so unreasonable a time, and pressing it forward in a manner so very singular and uncommon. I have made all possible inquiry; and as yet I must confess, I am at a loss to find out the great occasion. I have, it is true, learned from common report without doors, that a most seditious, a most heinous farce had been offered to one of the theatres, a farce for which the authors ought to be punished in the most exemplary manner: but what was the consequence? The master of that theatre behaved as he was in duty bound, and as common prudence directed: he not only refused to bring it upon the stage, but carried it to a certain honorable gentleman in the administration, as the surest method of having it absolutely suppressed. Could this be the occasion of introducing such an extraordinary bill, at such an extraordinary season, and pushing it in so extraordinary a manner? Surely no:—The dutiful behaviour of the players, the prudent caution they shewed upon that occasion, can never be a reason for subjecting them to such an arbitrary restraint: it is an argument in their favour, and a material one, in my opinion, against the bill. Nay farther, if we consider all circumstances, it is to me a full proof that the laws now in being are sufficient for punishing those players who shall venture to bring any seditious libel upon the stage, and consequently sufficient for deterring all the players from acting any thing that may have the least tendency towards giving a reasonable offence.

I do not, my lords, pretend to be a lawyer, I do not pretend to know perfectly the power and extent of our laws; but I have conversed with those that do, and by them I have been told, that our laws are sufficient for punishing any person that shall dare to represent upon the stage, what may appear, either by the words or the representation, to be blasphemous, seditious, or immoral. I must own indeed, I have observed of late a remarkable licentiousness in the stage. There have but very lately been two plays acted, which one would have thought should have given the greatest offence, and yet both were suffered to be often represented without disturbance,

bance, without censure. In one *, the author thought fit to represent the three great professions, religion, physic, and law, as inconsistent with common sense: in the other †, a most tragical story was brought upon the stage, a catastrophe too recent, too melancholy, and of too solemn a nature, to be heard of any where but from the pulpit. How these pieces came to pass unpunished, I do not know; if I am rightly informed, it was not for want of law, but for want of prosecution, without which no law can be made effectual: but if there was any neglect in this case, I am convinced it was not with a design to prepare the minds of the people, and to make them think a new law necessary.

Our stage ought certainly, my lords, to be kept within due bounds; but for this, our laws, as they stand at present, are sufficient. If our stage-players at any time exceed those bounds, they ought to be prosecuted, they may be punished: we have precedents, we have examples of persons having been punished for things less criminal than either of the two pieces I have mentioned. A new law must therefore be unnecessary, and in the present case it cannot be unnecessary without being dangerous: every unnecessary restraint on licentiousness is a fetter upon the legs, is a shackle upon the hands, of liberty. One of the greatest blessings we enjoy, one of the greatest blessings a people, my lords, can enjoy, is liberty; but every good in this life has its alloy of evil. Licentiousness is the alloy of liberty: it is an ebullition, an excrescence; it is a speck upon the eye of the political body, which I can never touch but with a gentle, with a trembling hand, lest I destroy the body, lest I injure the eye upon which it is apt to appear. If the stage becomes at any time licentious, if a play appears to be a libel upon the government, or upon any particular man, the king's courts are open, the law is sufficient for punishing the offender; and in this case the person injured has a singular advantage, he can be under no difficulty to prove who is the publisher; the players themselves are the publishers, and there can be no want of evidence to convict them.

* *Pasquin*, a comedy.

† *King Charles I.*, a tragedy.

But, my lords, suppose it true, that the laws now in being are not sufficient for putting a check to, or preventing, the licentiousness of the stage; suppose it absolutely necessary some new law should be made for that purpose: yet it must be granted, that such a law ought to be maturely considered, and every clause, every sentence, nay every word of it, well weighed and examined, lest, under some of those methods presumed or pretended to be necessary for restraining licentiousness, a power should lie concealed, which might be afterwards made use of for giving a dangerous wound to liberty. Such a law ought not to be introduced at the close of a session, nor ought we, in the passing of such a law, to depart from any of the forms prescribed by our ancestors for preventing deceit and surprize. There is such a connection between licentiousness and liberty, that it is not easy to correct the one, without dangerously wounding the other; it is extremely hard to distinguish the true limit between them: like a changeable silk, we can easily see there are two different colors, but we cannot easily discover where the one ends, or where the other begins. There can be no great and immediate danger from the licentiousness of the stage: I hope it will not be pretended, that our government may, before next winter, be overturned by such licentiousness, even though our stage were at present under no sort of controul. Why then may we not delay till next session passing any law against the licentiousness of the stage? Neither our government can be altered, nor our constitution overturned, by such a delay; but by passing a law rashly and unadvisedly, our constitution may at once be destroyed, and our government rendered arbitrary. Can we then put a small, a short-lived inconvenience in the balance with perpetual slavery? Can it be supposed, that a parliament of Great Britain will so much as risk the latter, for the sake of avoiding the former?

Surely, my lords, this is not to be expected, were the licentiousness of the stage much greater than it is, were the insufficiency of our laws more obvious than can be pretended; but when we complain of the licentiousness of the stage, and the insufficiency of our laws, I fear we have more reason to complain of bad measures in our polity, and a general decay of virtue and morality among the people.

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In public as well as private life, the only way to prevent being ridiculed or censured, is to avoid all ridiculous or wicked measures, and to pursue such only as are virtuous and worthy. The people never endeavour to ridicule those they love and esteem, nor will they suffer them to be ridiculed: if any one attempts it, the ridicule returns upon the author; he makes himself only the object of public hatred and contempt. The actions or behaviour of a private man may pass unobserved, and consequently unapplauded, uncensured; but the actions of those in high stations can neither pass without notice, nor without censure or applause; and therefore an administration, without esteem, without authority among the people, let their power be never so great, let their power be never so arbitrary, will be ridiculed: the severest edicts, the most terrible punishments, cannot prevent it. If any man therefore thinks he has been censured, if any man thinks he has been ridiculed, upon any of our public theatres, let him examine his actions, he will find the cause; let him alter his conduct, he will find a remedy. As no man is perfect, as no man is infallible, the greatest may err, the most circumspect may be guilty of some piece of ridiculous behaviour. It is not licentiousness, it is an useful liberty always indulged the stage in a free country, that some great men may there meet with a just reproof, which none of their friends will be free enough, or rather faithful enough, to give them. Of this we have a famous instance in the Roman history. The great Pompey, after the many victories he had obtained, and the great conquests he had made, had certainly a good title to the esteem of the people of Rome: yet that great man, by some error in his conduct, became an object of general dislike; and therefore in the representation of an old play, when Diphilus, the actor, came to repeat these words, *Nostra miseria tu es Magnus*, the audience immediately applied them to Pompey, who at that time was as well known by the name Magnus, as by the name Pompey, and were so highly pleased with the satire, that, as Cicero says, they made him repeat the words a hundred times over. An account of this was immediately sent to Pompey, who, instead of resenting it as an injury, was so wise as to take it for a just reproof; he examined his conduct, he altered his measures, he regained by degrees the

steem of the people, and therefore neither feared the wit, nor felt the satire, of the stage. This is an example which ought to be followed by great men in all countries. Such accidents will often happen in every free country, and many such would probably have afterwards happened at Rome, if they had continued to enjoy their liberty : but this sort of liberty on the stage came soon after, I suppose, to be called licentiousness ; for we are told that Augustus, after having established his empire, restored order in Rome by restraining licentiousness. God forbid ! we should in this country have order restored, or licentiousness restrained, at so dear a rate as the people of Rome paid for it to Augustus.

In the case I have mentioned, my lords, it was not the poet that wrote, for it was an old play ; nor the players that acted, for they only repeated the words of the play, it was the people who pointed the satire ; and the case will always be the same. When a man has the misfortune to incur the hatred or contempt of the people, when public measures are despised, the audience will apply what never was, what could not be, designed as a satire on the present times, nay, even though the people should not apply, those who are conscious of the wickedness or weakness of their conduct will take to themselves what the author never designed. A public thief is as apt to take the satire, as he is apt to take the money, which was never designed for him. We have an instance of this in the case of a famous comedian of the last age ; a comedian who was not only a good poet, but an honest man, and a quiet and good subject. The famous Moliere, when he wrote his *Tartuffe*, which is certainly an excellent and a good moral comedy, did not design to satyrize any great man of that age, yet a great man in France at that time took it to himself, and fancied the author had taken him as a model for one of the principal, and one of the worst, characters in that comedy : by good luck he was not the licenser, otherwise the kingdom of France had never had the pleasure, the happiness I may say, of seeing that play acted ; but, when the players first purposed to act it at Paris, he had interest enough to get it forbid. Moliere, who knew himself innocent of what was laid to his charge, complained to his patron the prince of Conti, that as his play was designed only to expose
hypocrisy,

hypocrisy, and a false pretence to religion, it was very hard it should be forbid being acted, when at the same time they were suffered to expose religion itself every night publicly upon the Italian stage; to which the prince wittily answered, "It is true, Moliere, Harlequin ridicules heaven, and exposes religion, but you have done much worse,---you have ridiculed the first minister of religion."

I am as much for restraining the licentiousness of the stage, and every other sort of licentiousness, as any of your lordships can be: but, my lords, I am, I shall always be, extremely cautious and fearful of making the least encroachment upon liberty, and therefore, when a new law is proposed against licentiousness, I shall always be for considering it deliberately and maturely, before I venture to give my consent to its being passed. This is a sufficient reason for my being against passing this bill at so unseasonable a time, and in so extraordinary a manner; but I have many reasons for being against passing the bill itself, some of which I shall beg leave to explain to your lordships.

The bill, my lords, at first view, may seem to be designed only against the stage; but to me it plainly appears to point somewhere else. It is an arrow, that does but glance upon the stage; the mortal wound seems designed against the liberty of the press. By this bill you prevent a play's being acted, but you do not prevent its being printed; therefore, if a licence should be refused for its being acted, we may depend upon it, the play will be printed. It will be printed and published, my lords, with the refusal in capital letters on the title page. People are always fond of what is forbidden. *Libri prohibiti* (prohibited books) are in all countries diligently and generally sought after. It will be much easier to procure a refusal, than it ever was to procure a good house, or a good sale; therefore we may expect, that plays will be wrote on purpose to have a refusal; this will certainly procure a good house or a good sale. Thus will satires be spread and dispersed through the whole nation, and thus every man in the kingdom may, and probably will, read for six-pence, what a few only could have seen acted, and that not under the expence of half a crown? We shall then be told, What! will you allow an infamous libel to be printed and dispersed, which you would not allow to be acted? You have agreed to a law to prevent its being acted:

can you refuse your assent to a law to prevent its being printed and published? I should really, my lords, be glad to hear, what excuse, what reason one could give for being against the latter, after having agreed to the former; for, I protest, I cannot suggest to myself the least shadow of an excuse. If we agree to the bill now before us, we must, perhaps, next session, agree to a bill for preventing any plays being printed without a licence. Then satires will be wrote by way of novels, secret histories, dialogues, or under some such title; and thereupon we shall be told, What! will you allow an infamous libel to be printed and dispersed, only because it does not bear the title of a play? Thus, my lords, from the precedent now before us, we shall be induced, nay we can find no reason for refusing, to lay the press under a general licence, and then we may bid adieu to the liberties of great Britain.

But suppose, my lords, it were necessary to make a new law for restraining the licentiousness of the stage, which I am very far from granting, yet I shall never be for establishing such a power as is proposed by this bill. If poets and players are to be restrained, let them be restrained as other subjects are, by the known laws of their country: if they offend, let them be tried, as every Englishman ought to be, by God and their country; do not let us subject them to the arbitrary will and pleasure of any one man. A power lodged in the hands of one single man, to judge and determine, without any limitation, without any controul or appeal, is a sort of power unknown to our laws, inconsistent with our constitution. It is a higher, a more absolute power than we trust even to the king himself, and therefore I must think, we ought not to vest any such power in his majesty's lord chamberlain. When I say this, I am sure, I do not mean to give the least, the most distant, offence to the noble duke* who now fills the post of lord chamberlain; his natural candor and love of justice would not, I know, permit him to exercise any power, but with the strictest regard to the rules of justice and humanity. Were we sure his successors in that high office would always be persons of such distinguished merit, even the power established by this bill could give no further alarm, than lest it should be made a precedent for introducing other new powers of the same nature. This,

* The duke of Grafton.

indeed, is an alarm which cannot be avoided, which cannot be prevented by any hope, by any consideration ; it is an alarm, which, I think, every man must take, who has a due regard to the constitution and liberties of his country.

I shall admit, my lords, that the stage ought not, upon any occasion, to meddle with politics, and for this very reason among the rest, I am against the bill now before us. This bill will be so far from preventing the stage's meddling with politics, that, I fear, it will be the occasion of its meddling with nothing else ; but then it will be a political stage *ex parte*. It will be made subservient to the politics and the schemes of the court only ; the licentiousness of the stage will be encouraged instead of being restrained, but, like court journalists, it will be licentious only against the patrons of liberty, and the protectors of the people : whatever man, whatever party, opposes the court in any of their most destructive schemes, will, upon the stage, be represented in the most ridiculous light the hirelings of a court can contrive. True patriotism, and love of public good, will be represented as madness, or as a cloak for envy, disappointment, and malice ; whilst the most flagitious crimes, the most extravagant vices and follies, if they are fashionable at court, will be disguised and dressed up in the habit of the most amiable virtues. This has formerly been the case in king Charles the second's days : the playhouse was under a licence, what was the consequence ? The playhouse retailed nothing but the politics, the vices and the follies of the court ; not to expose them, no, but to recommend them, though it must be granted their politics were often as bad as their vices, and much more pernicious than their other follies. It is true, the court had at that time a great deal of wit, it was then indeed full of men of true wit and great humor ; but it was the more dangerous, for the courtiers did then, as thorough-paced courtiers always will do, they sacrificed their honor by making their wit and their humor subservient to the court only ; and what made it still more dangerous, no man could appear upon the stage against them. We know that Dryden, the poet-laureat of that reign, always represents the cavaliers as honest, brave, merry fellows, and fine gentlemen ; indeed his fine gentleman, as he generally draws him, is an atheistical, lewd, abandoned

doned fellow, which was at that time, it seems, the fashionable character at court ; on the other hand he always represents the dissenters as hypocritical, dissembling rogues, or stupid senseless boobies.--- When the court had a mind to fall out with the Dutch, he wrote his *Amboyna* *, in which he represents the Dutch as a pack of avaritious, cruel, ungrateful rascals :---and when the exclusion bill was moved in parliament, he wrote his *Duke of Guise* †, in which those who were for preserving and securing the religion of their country, were exposed under the character of the duke of Guise and his party, who leagued together for excluding Henry IV. of France from the throne, on the account of his religion.—The city of London too was made to feel the partial and mercenary licentiousness of the stage at that time; for the citizens having at that time, as well as now, a great deal of property, they had a mind to preserve that property, and therefore they opposed some of the arbitrary measures which were then begun, but pursued more openly in the following reign ; for which reason they were then always represented upon the stage as a parcel of designing knaves, dissembling hypocrites, griping usurers, —and cuckolds into the bargain.

My lords, the proper business of the stage, and that for which only it is useful, is to expose those vices and follies, which the laws cannot lay hold of, and to recommend those beauties and virtues, which ministers and courtiers seldom either imitate or reward ; but by laying it under a licence, and under an arbitrary court-licence too, you will, in my opinion, entirely pervert its use ; for though I have the greatest esteem for that noble duke, in whose hands this power is at present designed to fall, though I have an entire confidence in his judgment and impartiality ; yet I may suppose that a leaning towards the fashions of a court is sometimes hard to be avoided. It may be very difficult to make one, who is every day at court, believe that to be a vice or folly, which he sees daily practised by those he loves

* This is not quite exact. The Dutch war began in 1672. The play was acted and printed in 1673.

† This was certainly a party-play, though the occasion of it may be doubted. It made its appearance in 1683, and was violently attacked by the Whigs. If lord Chesterfield had implicitly adopted the opinions of his grandfather Halifax, he would scarcely have spoken, as he does here, of the exclusion bill.

and esteems. By custom, even deformity itself becomes familiar, and at last agreeable. To such a person, let his natural impartiality be never so great, that may appear to be a libel against the court, which is only a most just and a most necessary satire upon the fashionable vices and follies of the court. Courtiers, my lords, are too polite to reprove one another; the only place where they can meet with any just reproof, is a free though not a licentious stage; and as every sort of vice and folly, generally in all countries, begins at court, and from thence spreads through the country, by laying the stage under an arbitrary court-licence, instead of leaving it what it is, and always ought to be, a gentle scourge for the vices of great men and courtiers, you will make it a canal for propagating and conveying their vices and follies through the whole kingdom.

From hence, my lords, I think it must appear, that the bill now before us cannot so properly be called a bill for restraining licentiousness, as it may be called a bill for restraining the liberty of the stage, and for restraining it too in that branch which, in all countries, has been the most useful; therefore I must look upon this bill as a most dangerous encroachment upon liberty in general. Nay, farther, my lords, it is not only an encroachment upon liberty, but it is likewise an encroachment upon property. Wit, my lords, is a sort of property: it is the property of those who have it, and too often the only property they have to depend on. It is indeed but a precarious dependence. Thank God! we, my lords, have a dependence of another kind; we have a much less precarious support, and therefore cannot feel the inconveniencies of the bill now before us; but it is our duty to encourage and protect wit, whosoever's property it may be. Those gentlemen who have any such property, are all, I hope, our friends. Do not let us subject them to any unnecessary or arbitrary restraint. I must own, I cannot easily agree to the laying of any tax upon wit; but by this bill it is to be heavily taxed, it is to be excised; for, if this bill passes, it cannot be retailed in a proper way without a permit, and the lord chamberlain is to have the honor of being chief-gauger, supervisor, commissioner, judge and jury. But what is still more hard, though the poor author, the proprietor I should say, cannot perhaps dine till he has found out and agreed

agreed with, a purchaser; yet, before he can propose to seek for a purchaser, he must patiently submit to have his goods rummaged at this new excise-office, where they may be detained for fourteen days, and even then he may find them returned as prohibited goods, by which his chief and best market will be for ever shut against him; and that without any cause, without the least shadow of reason, either from the laws of his country, or the laws of the stage.

These hardships, this hazard, which every gentleman will be exposed to, who writes any thing for the stage, must certainly prevent every man of a generous and free spirit from attempting any thing in that way, and, as the stage has always been the proper channel for wit and humor, therefore, my lords, when I speak against this bill, I must think, I plead the cause of wit, I plead the cause of humor, I plead the cause of the British stage, and of every gentleman of taste in the kingdom. But, it is not, my lords, for the sake of wit only; even for the sake of his majesty's lord chamberlain, I must be against this bill. The noble duke who has now the honor to execute that office has, I am sure, as little inclination to disoblige as any man; but, if this bill passes, he must disoblige, he may disoblige some of his most intimate friends. It is impossible to write a play, but some of the characters, or some of the satire, may be interpreted so as to point at some person or another, perhaps at some person in an eminent station. When it comes to be acted, the people will make the application, and the person against whom the application is made will think himself injured, and will at least privately resent it: at present this resentment can be directed only against the author; but when an author's play appears with my lord chamberlain's passport, every such resentment will be turned from the author, and pointed directly against the lord chamberlain, who by his stamp made the piece current. What an unthankful office are we therefore by this bill to put upon his majesty's lord chamberlain! an office which can no way contribute to his honor or profit, and such a one as must necessarily gain him a great deal of ill-will, and create him a number of enemies.

The last reason I shall trouble your lordships with, for my being against the bill, is that, in my opinion, it will in no way answer the
end

end proposed : I mean the end openly proposed, and I am sure the only end which your lordships propose. To prevent the acting of a play which has any tendency to blasphemy, immorality, sedition, or private scandal, can signify nothing, unless you can prevent its being printed and published. On the contrary, if you prevent its being acted, and admit of its being printed, you will propagate the mischief : your prohibition will prove a bellows, which will blow up the fire you intend to extinguish. This bill can therefore be of no use for preventing either the public or the private injury intended by such a play, and consequently can be of no manner of use, unless it be designed as a precedent, as a leading step towards another for subjecting the press likewise to a licenser. For such a wicked purpose it may indeed be of great use ; and in that light it may most properly be called a step towards arbitrary power.

Let us consider, my lords, that arbitrary power has seldom or never been introduced into any country at once. It must be introduced by slow degrees, and as it were step by step, lest the people should perceive its approach. The barriers and fences of the people's liberty must be plucked up one by one, and some plausible pretences must be found for removing or hood-winking, one after another, those sentries who are posted by the constitution of a free country, for warning the people of their danger. When these preparatory steps are once made, the people may then, indeed, with regret, see slavery and arbitrary power making long strides over their land, but it will be too late to think of preventing or avoiding the impending ruin. The stage, my lords, and the press are two of our out-sentries ; if we remove them, if we hood-wink them,---if we throw them in fetters, the enemy may surprize us. Therefore I must look upon the bill now before us as a step, and a most necessary step too, for introducing arbitrary power into this kingdom : it is a step so necessary, that if ever any future ambitious king, or guilty minister, should form to himself so wicked a design, he will have reason to thank us, for having done so much of the work to his hand ; but such thanks, or thanks from such a man, I am convinced, every one of your lordships would blush to receive, and scorn to deserve.

XLVII.

LORD CHESTERFIELD'S first speech on the Gin act *,
February 21, 1743, after the second reading of the Bill.

MY LORDS,

THE bill now under our consideration appears to me to deserve a much closer regard than seems to have been paid to it in the other house, through which it was hurried with the utmost precipitation, and where it passed almost without the formality of a debate; nor can I think that earnestness, with which some lords seem inclined to press it forward here, consistent with the importance of the consequences which may with great reason be expected from it.

It has been urged that where so great a number have formed expectations of a national benefit from any bill, so much deference, at least, is due to their judgment, as that the bill should be considered in a committee. This, my lords, I admit to be in other cases a just and reasonable demand, and will readily allow that the proposal, not only of a considerable number, but even of any single lord, ought to be fully examined and regularly debated, according to the usual forms of this house. But in the present case, my lords, and in all cases like the present, this demand is improper, because it is useless; and it is useless, because we can do now all that we can do hereafter in a committee. For the bill before us is a money bill, which, according to the present opinion of the commons, we have no right to amend, and which therefore we have no need of considering in a committee, since the event of all our deliberations must be, that we are either to reject or pass it in its present state. For I suppose no lord will think this a proper time to enter into a controversy with the commons, for the revival of those privileges to which I believe we have a right; and such a controversy, the least attempt to amend a money bill will certainly produce.

* The act of parliament, that had been passed the 9th year of George II. by which no person was permitted to sell spirituous liquor in less quantity than two gallons, without a licence, for which 50 pounds was to be paid, having proved, from the difficulties in the execution, ineffectual to obstruct the progress of drunkenness among the common people; a new bill was moved and passed in the house of commons, by which a small duty was laid on the spirits *per* gallon at the still-head, and the price of licences reduced to twenty shillings.

To desire therefore, my lords, that this bill may be considered in a committee, is only to desire that it may gain one step without opposition; that it may proceed through the forms of the house by stealth, and that the consideration of it may be delayed, till the exigencies of the government shall be so great, as not to allow time for raising the supplies by any other method.

By this artifice, gross as it is, the patrons of this wonderful bill hope to obstruct a plain and open detection of its tendency. They hope, my lords, that the bill shall operate in the same manner with the liquor which it is intended to bring into more general use; and that, as those who drink spirits are drunk before they are well aware that they are drinking, the effects of this law shall be perceived before we know that we have made it. Their intent is, to give us a dram of policy, which is to be swallowed before it is tasted, and which, when once it is swallowed, will turn our heads.

But, my lords, I hope we shall be so cautious as to examine the draught which these state empirics have thought proper to offer us; and I am confident that a very little examination will convince us of the pernicious qualities of their new preparation, and shew that it can have no other effect than that of poisoning the public.

The law before us, my lords, seems to be the effect of that practice of which it is intended likewise to be the cause, and to be dictated by the liquor of which it so effectually promotes the use; for surely it never before was conceived, by any man intrusted with the administration of public affairs, to raise taxes by the destruction of the people.

Nothing, my lords, but the destruction of all the most laborious and useful part of the nation, can be expected from the licence which is now proposed to be given, not only to drunkenness, but to drunkenness of the most detestable and dangerous kind, to the abuse not only of intoxicating, but of poisonous liquors.

Nothing, my lords, is more absurd than to assert, that the use of spirits will be hindered by the bill now before us, or indeed that it will not be in a very great degree promoted by it. For what produces all kind of wickedness, but the prospect of impunity on one part, or the solicitation of opportunity on the other? Either of these

have too frequently been sufficient to overpower the sense of morality, and even of religion; and what is not to be feared from them, when they shall unite their force, and operate together, when temptations shall be increased, and terror taken away?

It is allowed, by those who have hitherto disputed on either side of this question, that the people appear obstinately enamoured of this new liquor; it is allowed on both parts, that this liquor corrupts the mind, and enervates the body, and destroys vigor and virtue, at the same time that it makes those who drink it too idle and too feeble for work; and while it impoverishes them by the present expence, disables them from retrieving its ill consequences by subsequent industry.

It might be imagined, my lords, that those who had thus far agreed, would not easily find any occasions of dispute; nor would any man, unacquainted with the motives by which parliamentary debates are too often influenced, suspect that after the pernicious qualities of this liquor, and the general inclination among the people to the immoderate use of it, had been generally admitted, it could be afterwards inquired, whether it ought to be made more common, whether this universal thirst for poison ought to be encouraged by the legislature, and whether a new statute ought to be made, to secure drunkards in the gratification of their appetites.

To pretend, my lords, that the design of this bill is to prevent or diminish the use of spirits, is to trample upon common sense, and to violate the rules of decency as well as of reason. For when did any man hear, that a commodity was prohibited by licensing its sale, or that to offer and refuse is the same action?

It is indeed pleaded, that it will be made dearer by the tax which is proposed, and that the increase of the price will diminish the number of the purchasers; but it is at the same time expected that this tax shall supply the expence of a war on the continent. It is asserted therefore, that the consumption of spirits will be hindered, and yet that it will be such as may be expected to furnish, from a very small tax, a revenue sufficient for the support of armies, for the re-establishment of the Austrian family, and the repressing of the attempts of France.

Surely, my lords, these expectations are not very consistent, nor can it be imagined that they are both formed in the same head, though they may be expressed by the same mouth. It is however some recommendation of a statesman, when, of his assertions, one can be found reasonable or true; and in this, praise cannot be denied to our present ministers: for though it is undoubtedly false, that this tax will lessen the consumption of spirits, it is certainly true that it will produce a very large revenue, a revenue that will not fail, but with the people from whose debaucheries it arises.

Our ministers will therefore have the same honor with their predecessors, of having given rise to a new fund, not indeed for the payment of our debts, but for much more valuable purposes, for the cheering of our hearts under oppression, and for the ready support of those debts which we have lost hopes of paying. They are resolved, my lords, that the nation, which no endeavours can make wise, shall, while they are at its head, at least be merry; and since public happiness is the end of government, they seem to imagine that they shall deserve applause by an expedient, which will enable every man to lay his cares asleep, to drown sorrow, and lose in the delights of drunkenness both the public miseries and his own.

Luxury, my lords, is to be taxed, but vice prohibited, let the difficulties in executing the law be what they will. Would you lay a tax upon a breach of the ten commandments? Would not such a tax be wicked and scandalous; because it would imply an indulgence to all those who could pay the tax? Is not this a reproach most justly thrown by protestants upon the church of Rome? Was it not the chief cause of the reformation? And will you follow a precedent which brought reproach and ruin upon those that introduced it? This is the very case now before us. You are going to lay a tax, and consequently to indulge a sort of drunkenness, which almost necessarily produces a breach of every one of the ten commandments. Can you expect the reverend bench will approve of this? I am convinced they will not, and therefore I wish I had seen it full upon this occasion. I am sure I have seen it much fuller upon some other occasions, in which religion had no such deep concern.

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We have already, my lords, several sorts of funds in this nation, so many that a man must have a good deal of learning to be master of them. Thanks to his majesty, we have now amongst us the most learned man of the nation in this way. I wish he would rise up and tell us, what name we are to give to this new fund. We have already the civil list fund, the sinking fund, the aggregate fund, the South-sea fund, and God knows how many others. What name we are to give to this new fund I know not, unless we are to call it the drinking fund. It may perhaps enable the people of a certain foreign territory to drink claret, but it will disable the people of this kingdom from drinking any thing else but gin; for, when a man has, by gin-drinking, rendered himself unfit for labor or business, he can purchase nothing else, and then the best thing he can do is to drink on till he dies.

Surely, my lords, men of such unbounded benevolence, as our present ministers, deserve such honors as were never paid before: they deserve to bestride a butt upon every sign-post in the city, or to have their figures exhibited as tokens where this liquor is to be sold by the licence which they have procured. They must be at least remembered to future ages, as the happy politicians, who, after all expedients for raising taxes had been employed, discovered a new method of draining the last reliques of the public wealth, and added a new revenue to the government: nor will those, who shall hereafter enumerate the several funds now established among us, forget among the benefactors to their country the illustrious authors of the drinking fund.

May I be allowed, my lords, to congratulate my countrymen and fellow-subjects upon the happy times which are now approaching, in which no man will be disqualified from the privilege of being drunk; when all discontent and disloyalty shall be forgotten, and the people, though now considered by the ministry as enemies, shall acknowledge the lenity of that government, under which all restraints are taken away?

But, to a bill for such desirable purposes, it would be proper, my lords, to prefix a preamble, in which the kindness of our intentions should be more fully explained, that the nation may not mistake our

our indulgence for cruelty, nor consider their benefactors as their persecutors. If therefore this bill be considered and amended (for why else should it be considered?) in a committee, I shall humbly propose, that it shall be introduced in this manner. “Whereas the
 “ designs of the present ministry, whatever they are, cannot be
 “ executed without a great number of mercenaries, which merce-
 “ naries cannot be hired without money; and whereas the present
 “ disposition of this nation to drunkenness inclines us to believe, that
 “ they will pay more cheerfully for the undisturbed enjoyment of
 “ distilled liquors, than for any other concession that can be made by
 “ the government; be it enacted, by the king’s most excellent ma-
 “ jesty, that no man shall hereafter be denied the right of being
 “ drunk on the following conditions.”

This, my lords, to trifle no longer, is the proper preamble to this bill, which contains only the conditions on which the people of this kingdom are to be allowed henceforward to riot in debauchery, in debauchery licensed by law, and countenanced by the magistrates. For there is no doubt but those on whom the inventors of this tax shall confer authority will be directed to assist their masters in their design to encourage the consumption of that liquor, from which such large revenues are expected, and to multiply without end those licences which are to pay a yearly tribute to the crown.

By this unbounded licence, my lords, that price will be lessened, from the increase of which the expectations of the efficacy of this law are pretended; for the number of retailers will lessen the value, as in all other cases, and lessen it more than this tax will increase it. Besides, it is to be considered, that at present the retailer expects to be paid for the danger which he incurs by an unlawful trade, and will not trust his reputation or his purse to the mercy of his customer, without a profit proportioned to the hazard; but, when once the restraint shall be taken away, he will sell for common gain, and it can hardly be imagined that, at present, he subjects himself to informations and penalties for less than six pence a gallon.

The specious pretence, on which this bill is founded, and indeed the only pretence that deserves to be termed specious, is the propriety of taxing vice; but this maxim of government has, on this occasion,

been either mistaken or perverted. Vice, my lords, is not properly to be taxed, but suppressed, and heavy taxes are sometimes the only means, by which that suppression can be attained. Luxury, my lords, or the excess of that which is pernicious only by its excess, may very properly be taxed, that such excess, though not strictly unlawful, may be made more difficult. But the use of these things which are simply hurtful, hurtful in their own nature, and in every degree, is to be prohibited. None, my lords, ever heard in any nation of a tax upon theft or adultery, because a tax implies a licence granted for the use of that which is taxed, to all who shall be willing to pay it.

Drunkenness, my lords, is universally and in all circumstances an evil; and therefore ought not to be taxed, but punished, and the means of it not to be made easy by a slight impost, which none can feel, but to be removed out of the reach of the people, and secured by the heaviest taxes, levied with the utmost rigor. I hope those, to whose care the religion of the nation is particularly consigned, will unanimously join with me in maintaining the necessity, not of taxing vice, but suppressing it, and unite for the rejecting of a bill, by which the future, as well as present, happiness of thousands must be destroyed.

 XLVIII.

L O R D C H E S T E R F I E L D ' S second speech on the Gin act,
February 24, 1743.

MY LORDS,

THOUGH the noble lord* who has been pleased to excite us to an unanimous concurrence with himself and his associates in the ministry, in passing the excellent and wonder-working

* The duke of Newcastle.

bill,

bill, this bill which is to lessen the consumption of spirits, without lessening the quantity which is distilled; which is to restrain drunkards from drinking, by setting their favourite liquor always before their eyes; to conquer habits by continuing them; and correct vice by indulging it, according to the lowest reckoning, for at least another year; still, my lords, such is my obstinacy, or such my ignorance, that I cannot yet comply with his proposal, nor can prevail with myself either to concur with measures so apparently opposite to the interest of the public, or to hear them vindicated, without declaring how little I approve it.

During the course of this long debate, I have endeavoured to recapitulate and digest the arguments which have been advanced, and have considered them both separately and conjointly, but find myself at the same distance from conviction as when I first entered the house.

In vindication of this bill, my lords, we have been told that the present law is ineffectual; that our manufacture is not to be destroyed; or not this year; that the security offered by the present bill, has induced great numbers to subscribe to the new fund; that it has been approved by the commons; and that, if it be found ineffectual, it may be amended another session.

All these arguments, my lords, I shall endeavour to examine, because I am always desirous of gratifying those great men to whom the administration of affairs is intrusted, and have always very cautiously avoided the odium of disaffection, which they will undoubtedly throw, in imitation of their predecessors, upon all those whose wayward consciences shall oblige them to hinder the execution of their schemes.

With a very strong desire, therefore, though with no great hopes, of finding them in the right, I venture to begin my inquiry, and engage in the examination of their first assertion, that the present law against the abuse of strong liquors is without effect.

I hope, my lords, it portends well to my inquiry, that the first position which I have to examine is true; nor can I forbear to congratulate your lordships upon having heard from the new ministry one assertion not to be contradicted.

It is evident, my lords, from daily observation, and demonstrable from the papers upon the table, that every year, since the enacting of the last law, that vice has increased which it was intended to repress, and that no time has been so favourable to the retailers of spirits as that which has passed since they were prohibited.

It may therefore be expected, my lords, that, having agreed with the ministers in their fundamental proposition, I shall concur with them in the consequence which they draw from it; and, having allowed that the present law is ineffectual, should admit that another is necessary.

But, my lords, in order to discover whether this consequence be necessary, it must first be inquired why the present law is of no force? For, my lords, it will be found, upon reflection, that there are certain degrees of corruption, that may hinder the effect of the best laws. The magistrates may be vicious, and forbear to enforce that law by which themselves are condemned; they may be indolent, and inclined rather to connive at wickedness, by which they are not injured themselves, than to repress it by a laborious exertion of their authority; or they may be timorous, and, instead of awing the vicious, may be awed by them.

In any of these cases, my lords, the law is not to be condemned for its inefficacy, since it only fails by the defect of those who are to direct its operations. The best and most important laws will contribute very little to the security or happiness of a people, if no judges of integrity and spirit can be found amongst them. Even the most beneficial and useful bill that ministers can possibly imagine, a bill for laying on our estates a tax of the fifth part of their yearly value, would be wholly without effect, if collectors could not be obtained.

I am therefore, my lords, yet doubtful, whether the inefficacy of the law now subsisting necessarily obliges us to provide another; for those that declared it to be useless, owned at the same time that no man endeavoured to enforce it; so that perhaps its only defect may be, that it will not execute itself.

Nor, though I should allow that the law is at present impeded by difficulties which cannot be broken through, but by men of more spirit

spirit and dignity than the ministers may be inclined to trust with commissions of the peace, yet it can only be collected, that another law is necessary, not that the law now proposed will be of any advantage.

Great use has been made of the inefficacy of the present law, to decry the proposal made by the noble lord, for laying a high duty upon these pernicious liquors. High duties have already, as we are informed, been tried without advantage; high duties are at this hour imposed upon those spirits which are retailed, yet we see them every day sold in the streets, without the payment of the tax required; and therefore it will be folly to make a second essay of means which have been found, by the essay of many years, unsuccessful.

It has been granted on all sides in this debate, nor was it ever denied on any other occasion, that the consumption of any commodity is most easily hindered by raising its price; and its price is to be raised by the imposition of a duty. This, my lords, which is, I suppose, the opinion of every man, of whatever degree of experience or understanding, appears likewise to have been thought of by the authors of the present law; and therefore they imagined that they had effectually provided against the increase of drunkenness, by laying, upon that liquor which should be retailed in small quantities, a duty which none of the inferior classes of drunkards would be able to pay.

Thus, my lords, they conceived that they had reformed the common people, without infringing the pleasures of others, and applauded the happy contrivance, by which spirits were to be made dear only to the poor, while every man who could afford to purchase two gallons was at liberty to riot at his ease, and, over a full flowing bumper, look down with contempt upon his former companions, now ruthlessly condemned to disconsolate sobriety.

But, my lords, this intention was frustrated, and the project, ingenious as it was, fell to the ground: for, though they had laid a tax, they unhappily forgot this tax would make no addition to the price unless it was paid, and that it would not be paid unless some were empowered to collect it.

Here, my lords, was the difficulty; those who made the law were inclined to lay a tax from which themselves should be exempt, and

therefore would not charge the liquor as it issued from the still ; and when once it was dispersed in the hands of petty dealers, it was no longer to be found without the assistance of informers, and informers could not carry on the business of prosecution, without the consent of the people.

It is not necessary to dwell any longer upon the law, the repeal of which is proposed, since it appears already that it failed, only from a partiality not easily defended, and from the omission of what is now proposed, the collecting the duty from the still-head.

If this method be followed, there will be no longer any need of informations, or of any rigorous or new measures ; the same officers that collect a smaller duty may levy a greater ; nor can they be easily deceived with regard to the quantities that are made ; the deceptions, at least, that can be used, are in use already ; they are frequently detected and suppressed, nor will a larger duty enable the distillers to elude the vigilance of the officers with more success.

Against this proposal, therefore, the inefficacy of the present law can be no objection. But it is urged, that such duties would destroy the trade of distilling, and a noble lord has been pleased to express great tenderness for a manufacture so beneficial and extensive.

That a large duty, levied at the still, would destroy, or very much impair, the trade of distilling, is certainly supposed by those who defend it, for they proposed it only for that end ; and what better method can they propose, when they are called to deliberate upon a bill for the prevention of the excessive use of distilled liquors ?

The noble lord has been pleased kindly to inform us, that the trade of distilling is very extensive, that it employs great numbers, and that they have arrived at exquisite skill, and therefore—note well the consequence—the trade of distilling is not to be discouraged.

Once more, my lords, allow me to wonder at the different conceptions of different understandings. It appears to me, that since the spirits, which the distillers produce, are allowed to enfeeble the limbs, and vitiate the blood, to pervert the heart, and obscure the intellects, that the number of distillers should be no argument in their favour ! for I never heard that a law against theft was repealed or delayed,
because

because thieves were numerous. It appears to me, my lords, that if so formidable a body are confederated against the virtue or the lives of their fellow-citizens, it is time to put an end to the havock, and to interpose, while it is yet in our power to stop the destruction.

So little, my lords, am I affected with the merit of the wonderful skill which the distillers are said to have attained, that it is, in my opinion, no faculty of great use to mankind, to prepare palatable poison; nor shall I ever contribute my interest for the reprieve of a murderer, because he has, by long practice, obtained great dexterity in his trade.

If their liquors are so delicious, that the people are tempted to their own destruction, let us at length, my lords, secure them from these fatal draughts, by bursting the vials that contain them; let us crush at once these artists in slaughter, who have reconciled their countrymen to sickness and to ruin, and spread over the pitfalls of debauchery such baits as cannot be resisted.

The noble lord has, indeed, admitted that this bill may not be found sufficiently coercive, but gives us hopes that it may be improved and enforced another year, and persuades us to endeavour a reformation of drunkenness by degrees, and above all, to beware at present of hurting the *manufacture*.

I am very far, my lords, from thinking that there are, this year, any peculiar reasons for tolerating murder; nor can I conceive why the manufacture should be held sacred now, if it be to be destroyed hereafter. We are, indeed desirous to try how far this law will operate, that we may be more able to proceed with due regard to this valuable manufacture.

With regard to the operation of the law, it appears to me, that it will only enrich the government, without reforming the people, and I believe there are not many of a different opinion. If any diminution of the sale of spirits be expected from it, it is to be considered that this diminution will, or will not, be such as is desired for the reformation of the people. If it be sufficient, the manufacture is at an end, and all the reasons against a higher duty are of equal force against this: but if it is not sufficient, we have, at least, omitted
part

part of our duty, and have neglected the health and virtue of the people.

I cannot, my lords, yet discover why a reprieve is desired for this manufacture, why the present year is not equally propitious to the reformation of mankind, as any will be that may succeed it. It is true we are at war with two nations, and perhaps with more; but war may be better prosecuted without money than without men, and we but little consult the military glory of our country, if we raise supplies for paying our armies, by the destruction of those armies that we are contriving to pay.

We have heard the necessity of reforming the nation by degrees, urged as an argument for imposing first a lighter duty, and afterwards a heavier. This complaisance for wickedness, my lords, is not so defensible as that it should be battered by arguments in form, and therefore I shall only relate a reply made by Webb, the noted walker, upon a parallel occasion.

This man, who must be remembered by many of your lordships, was remarkable for vigor, both of mind and body, and lived wholly upon water for his drink, and chiefly upon vegetables for his other sustenance. He was one day recommending his regiment to one of his friends who loved wine, and who perhaps might somewhat contribute to the prosperity of this spirituous manufacture, and urged him, with great earnestness, to quit a course of luxury, by which his health and his intellects would equally be destroyed. The gentleman appeared convinced, and told him, "that he would conform to his counsel, and thought he could not change his course of life at once, but would leave off strong liquors by degrees." "By degrees," says the other with indignation, "if you should unhappily fall into the fire, would you caution your servants not to pull you out but by degrees?"

This answer, my lords, is applicable to the present case. The nation is sunk into the lowest state of corruption; the people are not only vicious, but insolent beyond example; they not only break the laws, but defy them, and yet, some of your lordships are for reforming them by degrees.

I am not so easily persuaded, my lords, that our ministers really intend to supply the defects that may hereafter be discovered in this bill. It will doubtless produce money, perhaps much more than they appear to expect from it. I doubt not but the licensed retailers will be more than fifty thousand, and the quantity retailed must increase with the number of retailers. As the bill will, therefore, answer all the ends intended by it, I do not expect to see it altered; for I have never observed ministers desirous of amending their own errors, unless they are such as have caused a deficiency in the revenue.

Besides, my lords, it is not certain that, when this fund is mortgaged to the public creditors, they can prevail upon the commons to change the security. They may continue the bill in force, for the reasons, whatever they are, for which they have passed it, and the good intentions of our ministers, however sincere, may be defeated, and drunkenness, legal drunkenness, established in the nation.

This, my lords, is very reasonable; and therefore we ought to exert ourselves for the safety of the nation, while the power is yet in our own hands; and, without regard to the opinion or proceedings of the other house, shew that we are yet the chief guardians of the people.

The ready compliance of the commons, with the measures proposed in this bill, has been mentioned here, with a view, I suppose, of influencing us; but surely by those who had forgotten our independence, or resigned their own. It is not only the right, but the duty of either house, to deliberate, without regard to the determinations of the other: for how should the nation receive any benefit from the distinct powers that compose the legislature, unless the determinations are without influence upon each other? If either the example or authority of the commons can divert us from following our own convictions, we are no longer part of the legislature; we have given up our honors, and our privileges; and what then is our concurrence but slavery, or our suffrage but an echo?

The only argument, therefore, that now remains, is the expediency of gratifying those, by whose ready subscription, the exigencies

gencies our new statesmen have brought upon us have been supported, and of continuing the security by which they have been encouraged to such liberal contributions.

Public credit, my lords, is indeed of very great importance ; but public credit can never be long supported without public virtue ; nor indeed, if the government could mortgage the morals and health of the people, would it be just and rational to confirm the bargain. If the ministry can raise money only by the destruction of their fellow-subjects, they ought to abandon those schemes for which the money is necessary ; for what calamity can be equal to unbounded wickedness ?

But, my lords, there is no necessity for a choice which may cost us or our ministers so much regret ; for the same subscriptions may be procured by an offer of the same advantages to a fund of any other kind ; and the sinking fund will easily supply any deficiency that might be suspected in another scheme.

To confess the truth, I should feel very little pain from an account that the nation was for some time determined to be less liberal of their contributions, and that money was withheld, till it was known in what expeditions it was to be employed, to what princes subsidies were to be paid, and what advantages were to be purchased by it for our country. I should rejoice, my lords, to hear that the lottery, by which the deficiencies of this duty are to be supplied, was not filled, and that the people were grown, at last, wise enough to discern the fraud, and to prefer honest commerce, by which all may be gainers, to a game by which the greatest number must certainly be losers.

The lotteries, my lords, which former ministers have proposed, have always been censured by those that saw their nature and their tendency ; they have been considered as legal cheats, by which the ignorant and the rash are defrauded, and the subtle and avaricious often enriched ; they have been allowed to divert the people from trade, and to alienate them from useful industry. A man who is uneasy in his circumstances, and idle in his disposition, collects the remains of his fortune, and buys tickets in a lottery ; retires from business, indulges himself in laziness, and waits, in some obscure place,

place, the event of his adventure. Another, instead of employing his stock in trade, rents a garret, and makes it his business, by false intelligence and chimerical alarms, to raise and sink the price of tickets alternately, and takes advantage of the lies, which he has himself invented.

Such, my lords, is the traffick that is produced by this scheme of getting money ; nor were these inconveniencies unknown to the present ministers in the time of their predecessors, whom they never ceased to pursue with the loudest clamors, whenever the exigencies of the government reduced them to a lottery.

If I, my lords, might presume to recommend to our ministers the most probable method of raising a large sum for the payment of the troops of the electorate, I should, instead of the tax and lottery now proposed, advise them to establish a certain number of licensed wheelbarrows, on which the laudable trade of thimble and button might be carried on for the support of the war, and shoe-boys might contribute to the defence of the house of *Austria* by raffling for apples.

Having now, my lords, examined, with the utmost candor, all the reasons which have been offered in defence of the bill, I cannot conceal the result of my inquiry. The arguments have had so little effect upon my understanding, that, as every man judges of others by himself, I cannot believe that they have any influence, even upon those that offer them, and therefore I am convinced that this bill must be the result of considerations which have been hitherto concealed, and is intended to promote designs which are never to be discovered by the authors before their execution.

With regard to these motives and designs, however artfully concealed, every lord in this house is at liberty to offer his conjectures.

When I consider, my lords, the tendency of this bill, I find it calculated only for the propagation of diseases, the suppression of industry, and the destruction of mankind. I find it the most fatal engine that ever was pointed at a people ; an engine by which those who are not killed will be disabled, and those who preserve their limbs will be deprived of their senses.

This bill therefore appears to be designed only to thin the ranks of mankind, and to disburden the world of the multitudes that inhabit it, and is perhaps the strongest proof of political sagacity that our new ministers have yet exhibited. They well know, my lords, that they are universally detested, and that whenever a Briton is destroyed, they are freed from an enemy; they have therefore opened the flood-gates of gin upon the nation, that, when it is less numerous, it may be more easily governed.

Other ministers, my lords, who had not attained to so great a knowledge in the art of making war upon their country, when they found their enemies clamorous and bold, used to awe them with prosecutions and penalties, or destroy them like burglars with prisons and with gibbets. But every age, my lords, produces some improvement; and every nation, however degenerate, gives birth, at some happy period of time, to men of great and enterprising genius. It is our fortune to be witnesses of a new discovery in politics; we may congratulate ourselves upon being cotemporaries with those men, who have shewed that hangmen and halters are unnecessary in a state, and that ministers may escape the reproach of destroying their enemies, by inciting them to destroy themselves.

This new method may, indeed, have upon different constitutions a different operation; it may destroy the lives of some, and the senses of others; but either of these effects will answer the purposes of the ministry, to whom it is indifferent, provided the nation becomes insensible, whether pestilence or lunacy prevails among them. Either mad or dead the greatest part of the people must quickly be, or there is no hope of the continuance of the present ministry.

For this purpose, my lords, what could have been invented more efficacious than an establishment of a certain number of shops, at which poison may be vended; poison so prepared as to please the palate, while it wastes the strength, and only kills by intoxication? From the first instant that many of the enemies of the ministry shall grow clamorous and turbulent, a crafty hireling may lead him to the ministerial slaughter-house, and ply him with their wonder-working liquor, till he is no longer able to speak or think; and,

my lords, no man can be more agreeable to our ministers, than he that can neither speak nor think, except those who speak without thinking.

But, my lords, the ministers ought to reflect, that though all the people of the present age are their enemies, yet they have made no trial of the temper and inclinations of posterity. Our successors may be of opinions very different from ours; they may perhaps approve of wars on the continent, while our plantations are insulted and our trade obstructed; they may think the support of the house of Austria of more importance to us than our own defence, and may perhaps so far differ from their fathers, as to imagine the treasures of Britain very properly employed in supporting the troops, and increasing the splendor, of a foreign electorate.

Whatever, my lords, be the true reason for which this bill is so warmly promoted, I think they ought, at least, to be deliberately examined; and therefore cannot think it consistent with our regard for the nation to suffer it to be precipitated into a law. The year, my lords, is not so far advanced but that supplies may be raised by some other method, if this should be rejected; nor do I think that we ought to consent to this, even though our refusal should hinder the supplies, since we have no right, for the sake of any advantage, however certain or great, to violate all the laws of heaven and earth, and to fill the exchequer with the price of the lives of our fellow-subjects.

Let us therefore, my lords, not suffer ourselves to be driven forward with such haste, as may hinder us from observing whither we are going. Let us not be persuaded to precipitate our counsels, by those who know that all delays are detrimental to their designs, because delays may produce new information; and they are conscious that the bill will be the less approved, the more it is understood.

But every reason which they can offer against the motion is, in my opinion, a reason for it; and therefore I shall readily agree to postpone the clause, and no less readily to reject the bill.

If, at last, reason and evidence are vain, if neither justice nor compassion can prevail, but the nation must be destroyed for the support of the government; let us at least, my lords, confine our assertions, in the preamble, to truth. Let us not affirm that drunkenness is established by the advice or consent of the lords spiritual, since I am confident not one of them will so far contradict his own doctrine, as to vote for a bill which gives a sanction to one vice, and ministers opportunities and temptations to all others, and which, if it be not speedily repealed, will overflow the whole nation with a deluge of wickedness.

 XLIX.

Lettre de son excellence mylord CHESTERFIELD aux états généraux des provinces - unies, pour prendre congé, le 26 Février, N. S. 1732.

HAUTS ET PUISSANS SEIGNEURS,

LE roi, mon maître, qui me rappelle pour remplir les fonctions de ma charge auprès de sa personne, m'a ordonné de vous réitérer en cette occasion les plus fortes assurances de son inviolable amitié pour cette illustre république.

C'est par-là que je commençai ma commission auprès de vos hautes puissances; il m'est doux de la terminer de même, et je me félicite de ce que, pendant un assez long-tems qu'elle a duré, tout a visiblement concouru à vérifier les sentimens d'un monarque incapable d'en témoigner qui ne soient réels.

Le roi sent vivement les avantages que les deux nations retirent de l'alliance qui les unit si étroitement. Toujours attentif au bonheur de ses sujets, et à celui de ses alliés, il est résolu d'entretenir, et s'il est possible, de serrer de plus en plus les nœuds d'une union que
le

XLIX.

His excellency the earl of CHESTERFIELD's letter to their high mightinesses, the states general of the united provinces, on taking leave, Feb. 26, N. S. 1732.

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,

THE king, my master, who recalls me to attend the duties of my post about his royal person, has commanded me to repeat to you, on this occasion, the strongest assurances of his inviolable friendship for this illustrious republic.

It was by these assurances that I opened my commission to your high mightinesses; I am happy to close it in the same manner, and I rejoice in the reflection that, throughout its whole duration, which has not been a short one, every thing has visibly concurred to evince the sentiments of a monarch, who is incapable of expressing any but such as are real.

His majesty is truly sensible of the advantages that accrue to both nations from the alliance, by which they are so strictly connected. Ever attentive to the welfare of his subjects, and to that of his allies, he is determined to maintain, and, if possible, more closely to cement, an union formed by the common interest of the people,

le bien commun des peuples, l'équilibre de l'Europe, l'intérêt de la religion protestante ont formée, et qu'une heureuse prescription semble rendre désormais inaltérable. Tel est le système dont on ne s'est jamais éloigné, que quand les véritables intérêts de l'une ou de l'autre nation ont été ignorés ou sacrifiés.

Les traits que j'emploie pour représenter à vos hautes puissances les dispositions du roi mon maître, sont les mêmes dont je me servirai pour lui rendre compte des vôtres. Le rétablissement de la tranquillité de l'Europe est une preuve sensible et récente des bons effets qu'a produit cette confiance mutuelle. La providence, qui avoit uni nos intérêts, sembloit aussi avoir uni nos conseils. L'harmonie, l'objet de mes desirs les plus ardens, s'est entretenue comme d'elle-même. Elle a prévenu mes soins, et ne m'a laissé, si je puis parler ainsi, que le doux regret de n'y avoir contribué en rien, et de n'en avoir été que le spectateur.

Si dans des circonstances pareilles à celles où je me trouve aujourd'hui, on n'eût pas prodigué tous les termes les plus capables d'exprimer les mouvemens du cœur, pendant qu'on ne fait souvent que s'acquitter d'un simple devoir de cérémonie, j'emploierois, hauts et puissans seigneurs, sans craindre d'en dire trop, les expressions les plus énergiques, pour vous marquer la vive reconnaissance, que m'inspire l'accueil que vous m'avez témoigné durant le cours de ma commission.

Mes vœux me tiendront lieu de discours.

Fasse le grand arbitre des événemens, que vos hautes puissances participent longtems et abondamment à la prospérité, que la sagesse de vos conseils procure à votre patrie ! Daigne-t-il suspendre le cours des infirmités humaines, et étendre les bornes de la vie, en faveur de ceux dont l'expérience, les talens et les travaux peuvent contribuer à la sûreté et à la gloire de cette république ! et daigne-t-il marquer chaque moment de sa durée par quelque succès digne des vertus et du courage, qui en ont jeté les fondemens, et qui l'ont fait subsister avec tant d'éclat jusqu'à ce jour !

(Etoit signé),

C H E S T E R F I E L D .

L.

ple, the balance of Europe, and the interest of the protestant religion, and which a happy prescription seems to make unalterable for the future. Such is the system which has never been departed from, but when the true interests of either the one or the other have been mistaken or sacrificed.

The light in which I represent to your high mightinesses the disposition of the king, my master, is the same in which I shall give his majesty an account of yours. The re-establishment of the tranquillity of Europe, is a striking and recent proof of the good effects arising from this mutual confidence. Providence, which had united our interests, seems likewise to have united our counsels. Harmony, the object of my most ardent wishes, has invariably subsisted as a thing of course. It has superseded my endeavours, and has left me, if I may so say, but the pleasing regret of having been rather a spectator than a promoter of it.

If it were not customary, on these occasions, to lavish those terms which are most expressive of the feelings of the heart, and which too often mean no more than mere ceremony, I should make use of the most emphatical language, high and mighty lords, to express my gratitude for the reception you have honored me with, during the execution of my commission; nor should I be afraid of saying too much.

But let my wishes be accepted in lieu of a speech.

May the great disposer of all events grant that your high mightinesses may long and abundantly enjoy the prosperity, procured to your country by the wisdom of your counsels! may he suspend the course of human infirmities, and protract the period of life, in favour of those whose experience, abilities, and labours, may contribute to the safety and glory of this republic! and may each moment of its existence be signalized by some success, worthy of those virtues and that courage, which first laid the foundation of it, and have supported it in so high a degree of splendor to this day!

(Signed),

CHESTERFIELD.

L.

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Discours de son excellence, le comte de CHESTERFIELD, aux états généraux, en prenant congé de leurs hautes puissances : à la Haye, le 18 Mai, N. S. 1745.

HAUTS ET PUISSANS SEIGNEURS,

LE roi mon maître, en me permettant de retourner en Angleterre, m'a expressément ordonné de renouveler à vos hautes puissances les assurances les plus fortes de son estime et de son amitié. Il est heureux pour moi qu'une commission si honorable m'impose un devoir si facile. Interprète des sentimens d'une amitié sincère, je n'ai garde d'emprunter les expressions flatteuses, dont une amitié simulée a besoin de se parer. Qu'une politique rusée employe, pour couvrir ses desseins ambitieux, tout ce que l'art a de plus séduisant. Qu'elle mette tout en œuvre pour surprendre votre confiance, ou du moins pour vous endormir dans une funeste sécurité ; la vraie amitié, telle que celle qui unit le roi mon maître avec vos hautes puissances, méprise ces artifices, et déteste ces détours. Elle est simple, et son langage lui ressemble.

L'étroite union des deux nations n'est ni l'effet de quelques vues passagères, ni le fruit de quelque situation accidentelle ; mais une suite réfléchie de nos intérêts réciproques et invariables. La nature nous l'a marquée, en nous plaçant comme elle a fait, et une expérience non interrompue de près d'un siècle, ne nous permet pas d'ignorer que notre prospérité mutuelle dépend de notre union. Cette vérité est si incontestable, que nous devons regarder comme nos ennemis communs tous ceux qui prétendent la révoquer en doute. Le voisinage n'est pour la plupart des peuples qu'une source funeste de jalousie ou de discorde ; au lieu que nous avons le bonheur singulier d'être voisins, d'une manière propre à nous procurer des avantages

L.

The earl of CHESTERFIELD'S speech to the states general, on his taking leave of their high mightinesses at the Hague, May 18, N. S. 1745.

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,

THE king my master, on permitting me to return to England, has given me express orders to renew to your high mightinesses the strongest assurances of his esteem and friendship.

It is happy for me that so honorable a commission lays on me so easy a duty.

As a faithful interpreter of the sentiments of a sincere friendship, I am far from borrowing the flattering expressions which a feigned friendship stands in need of.

Let crafty policy employ the most seducing artifices to cover its ambitious designs ; let it put every spring in motion to gain your confidence, or at least to lull you into a fatal security. True friendship, such as that which unites the king my master with your high mightinesses, despises those artifices, and abhors those indirect means. It is simple, and its language is the same.

The close union of the two nations is neither the effect of some transient views, nor the fruit of accidental conjunctures, but the just consequence of our reciprocal and invariable interests. Nature pointed it out to us, in placing us as she has done, and the uninterrupted experience of almost a century must convince us that our mutual prosperity depends on our union. This truth is so indisputable, that all those who presume to call it in question may justly be considered as our common enemies.

Vicinity is to most nations but a fatal source of jealousy and discord, whereas we have the singular happiness of being neighbours in a manner fit to procure us infinite advantages, without a possibility of

ges infinis, fans qu'il en puisse naître ni défiance ni ombrage, si nous n'oublions pas nos grands intérêts.

Telles sont les idées du roi, et sur ce que j'ai vu de près, j'oserai l'affirmer que vos hautes puissances pensent de même. Qui peut l'ignorer ? Nos alliés le savent ; nos ennemis le sentent. L'Europe a déjà souvent recueilli des fruits précieux de notre harmonie. Que n'en doit-elle pas espérer encore ?

L'amour de la liberté, qui fonda cette république, et qui l'a déjà si souvent signalée depuis ; cet amour si noble et si généreux, unit encore aujourd'hui vos forces et vos conseils à ceux du roi mon maître. Animés d'un même esprit, et tendant au même but, vos efforts n'ont pour objet que de rétablir et d'affirmer la liberté et la tranquillité publique. Quel dessein plus louable ? Quel ouvrage plus digne d'un zèle juste et magnanime ?

Poursuivez, hauts et puissans seigneurs, ce dessein, avec votre fermeté et votre sagesse ordinaire ! continuez ces efforts, fans vous laisser décourager ; et veuille le ciel couronner vos entreprises du succès qu'elles méritent !

Pour ce qui me regarde, hauts et puissans seigneurs, rien ne pouvoit m'arriver de plus flatteur que d'être chargé, pour la seconde fois, des ordres du roi auprès de vos hautes puissances, sur-tout dans une occasion où il s'agissoit de concerter les moyens de satisfaire aux engagemens que je contribuai à former il y a quelques années. Je n'oublierai jamais le gracieux accueil dont vos hautes puissances m'ont honoré alors et à-présent ; et ma reconnoissance ne finira qu'avec mes jours. Mais si vos hautes puissances daignent se souvenir de moi, ne m'envisagez, hauts et puissans seigneurs, que du côté de mon zèle sincère pour le bien commun des deux nations ; de ma vénération respectueuse pour votre gouvernement, et, si j'ose me servir de cette expression, de mon tendre attachement pour cette république.

CHESTERFIELD.

any distrust or umbrage arising therefrom, if we do not forget our grand interests.

Such are the king's notions ; and, from my own observation, I will take upon me to assure his majesty that your high mightinesses are in the same way of thinking. Who can be ignorant of it ? Our allies know it, our enemies feel it. Europe has already often reaped the precious fruits of our harmony. What may she not further expect from it ?

The love of liberty, which first laid the foundation of this republic, and has since so often signalized her, this so noble and generous love still unites your strength and your councils to those of the king my master. Actuated by the same spirit, and pursuing the same end, the sole object of your endeavours is to restore and secure public liberty and tranquillity. What design can be more laudable ? What work more worthy of a just and magnanimous zeal ? Pursue, high and mighty lords, that design, with your wonted steadiness and wisdom ; continue those efforts, without suffering yourselves to be dismayed, and may heaven crown your undertakings with the success they deserve !

As for what relates to myself, high and mighty lords, nothing could be more pleasing to me than to be charged a second time with the king's orders at this court, especially on an occasion where the business was to concert measures for fulfilling those very engagements which I contributed to form some years ago.

I shall never forget the kind reception I met with, both times, from your high mightinesses, and my gratitude will end but with my days. But if your high mightinesses will condescend to remember me, view me, high and mighty lords, only on the side of my sincere zeal for the common welfare of both nations, my respectful veneration for your government, and, if I may presume to use the expression, my tender attachment to this republic.

CHESTERFIELD.

LI.

The speech of his excellency, PHILIP earl of CHESTERFIELD, lord lieutenant - general and general - governor of Ireland, to both houses of parliament, at Dublin, on tuesday the 8th day of October, 1745.

MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN,

I Am honored with the king's commands to meet you here in parliament, and to co-operate with you in whatever may tend to establish, or promote, the true interest of this kingdom. His majesty's tender concern for all his subjects, and your zeal and duty for him, have mutually been too long experienced for me now to represent the one, or recommend the other.

Your own reflections will best suggest to you the advantages you have enjoyed under a succession of protestant princes, by nature inclined, and by legal authority enabled, to preserve and protect you; as your own history, and even the experience of some still alive among you, will best paint the miseries and calamities of a people scourged, rather than governed, by blind zeal, and lawless power.

These considerations must necessarily excite your highest indignation at the attempt now carrying on in Scotland, to disturb his majesty's government, by a pretender to his crown: one nursed up in civil and religious error; formed to persecution and oppression, in the feat of superstition and tyranny; whose groundless claim is as contrary to the natural rights of mankind, as to the particular laws and constitutions of these kingdoms; whose only hopes of support are placed in the enemies of the liberties of Europe in general; and whose success would consequently destroy your liberty, your property, and your religion.

But this success is little to be feared, his majesty's subjects giving daily and distinguished proofs of their zeal for the support of his

government, and the defence of his person; and a considerable number of national troops, together with six thousand Dutch, cheerfully furnished to his majesty by his good allies the states general, being now upon their march to Scotland, a force more than sufficient to check the progress, and chastise the insolence, of a rebellious and undisciplined multitude.

The measures that have hitherto been taken, to prevent the growth of popery, have, I hope, had some, and will still have a greater, effect; however, I leave it to your consideration, whether nothing farther can be done, either by new laws, or by the more effectual execution of those in being, to secure this nation against the great number of papists, whose speculative errors would only deserve pity, if their pernicious influence upon civil society did not both require and authorize restraint.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

I have ordered the proper officers to lay before you the several accounts and estimates; and I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that I have nothing to ask but the usual and necessary supplies for the support of the establishment.

The king, having thought it necessary, at this time, to send for two battalions more from hence, has ordered that, immediately upon their landing in England, they should be put upon the British establishment, and that the supplemental increase of regular forces, for your defence here, shall be made in the least expensive manner, by additional companies only; after which augmentation, the number of troops will still be within the usual military establishment.

MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN,

It is with the greatest satisfaction that I hear of the present flourishing state of the linen manufacture, and I most earnestly recommend to you the care and improvement of so valuable a branch of
your

your trade. Let not its prosperity produce negligence, and let it never be supposed to be brought to its utmost extent and perfection. Trade has always been the support of all nations, and the principal care of the wisest.

I persuade myself that the business of this session will be carried on with that temper and unanimity, which a true and unbiassed regard for the public naturally produces, and which the present state of affairs more particularly demands. For my own part, I make no professions; you will, you ought to judge of me only by my actions.

LII.

His excellency the earl of CHESTERFIELD'S speech to both houses of parliament at Dublin, on friday April 11. 1746.

MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN,

THE business of the session being now concluded, I believe you cannot be unwilling to return to your respective counties, as you must be sensible that the many good laws which you have passed will receive additional weight by your authority in executing, and by your example in observing, them.

The almost unprecedented temper and unanimity with which you have carried on the public business, your unshaken fidelity to the king, your inviolable attachment to the present happy constitution, and your just indignation at the attempts lately made to subvert it, will advantageously distinguish this session in the journals of parliament; and the concurrent zeal and active loyalty of all his majesty's protestant subjects, of all denominations, throughout this kingdom, prove at once how sensible and how deserving they are of his care and protection. Even those deluded people, who scarcely acknow-
ledge

ledge his government, seem, by their conduct, tacitly to have confessed the advantages they enjoy under it. At my return to his majesty's presence, I shall not fail most faithfully to report these truths, since the most faithful will be, at the same time, the most favourable representation.

The rebellion, which rather disturbed than endangered the king's government, has been defeated, though not yet totally suppressed; but as those flagitious parricides, who were abandoned enough to avow, and desperate enough to engage in, the cause of popery and tyranny, have already been repulsed and pursued, by the valour and activity of his royal highness the duke, there is the strongest reason to believe that he will soon complete the work which he has so gloriously begun, and restore the tranquillity of the kingdom. This attempt, therefore, to shake his majesty's throne, will serve to establish it the more firmly, since all Europe must know the unanimous zeal and affection of his subjects for the defence and support of his person and government; and those hopes are at last extinguished, with which the pretender has so long flattered, and, as it now appears, deceived himself. Even the manner in which he has been assisted by those powers who encouraged him to the attempt, must convince him that he has now been, what he ever will be, only the occasional tool of their politics, not the real object of their care.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

I have the king's commands to thank you, in his name, for the unanimity and dispatch with which you have granted the necessary supplies for the support of the establishment; you may depend upon their being applied with the utmost exactness and frugality.

I must not omit my own acknowledgments for the particular confidence you have placed in me, by leaving to my care and management the great sum that you voluntarily voted for national arms, and for the fortifying the harbour of Corke. The considerable favour which will appear upon those, as well in the interest upon the loan,

loan, as in the application of the principal, will, I hope, prove that I have been truly sensible of the trust reposed in me.

The assistance which you have given to the protestant charter schools, is a most prudent, as well as a most compassionate, charity ; and I do very earnestly recommend to your constant protection and encouragement that excellent institution, by which such a considerable number of unhappy children are annually rescued from the misery that always, and the guilt that commonly accompanies uninstructed poverty and idleness.

MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN,

Though Great Britain has, in the course of this century, been often molested by insurrections at home, and invasions from abroad, this kingdom has happily, and deservedly, enjoyed that uninterrupted tranquillity, which trade and manufactures, arts and sciences, require for their improvement and perfection. Nature too has been peculiarly favourable to this country, whose temperate climate and fruitful soil do invite, and would reward, care and industry. Let me, therefore, most seriously recommend to you, in your private as well as in your public capacities, the utmost attention to those important objects, which at once enrich, strengthen, and adorn, a nation. They will flourish wherever they are cultivated ; and they are always best cultivated by the indulgence, the encouragement, and above all by the example, of persons of superior rank.

I cannot conclude, without repeating my heartiest thanks to you for your kind addresses, in which you express your approbation of my conduct. My duty to the king, who wishes the interest and happiness of all his subjects, called for my utmost endeavours to promote yours ; and my inclinations conspired with my duty. These sentiments shall, I assure you, be the only motives of all my actions, of which your interest must consequently be the only object.

LIII.

A short character of the president de MONTESQUIEU, by lord
CHESTERFIELD*.

ON the tenth of this month, (February 1755) died at Paris, universally and sincerely regretted, Charles Secondat, baron de Montesquieu, and *président à mortier* of the parliament at Bourdeaux. His virtues did honor to human nature; his writings justice. A friend to mankind, he asserted their undoubted and inalienable rights with freedom, even in his own country, whose prejudices in matters of religion and government, he had long lamented, and endeavoured, not without some success, to remove. He well knew, and justly admired, the happy constitution of this country, where fixed and known laws equally restrain monarchy from tyranny, and liberty from licentiousness. His works will illustrate his name, and survive him as long as right reason, moral obligation, and the true spirit of laws, shall be understood, respected, and maintained†.

* This was sent from Bath by lord Chesterfield, on hearing of the death of his friend. It was inserted in the London Evening-Post, but without the name of the author. See *Memoirs* Sect. VI.

† On the death of the celebrated Mr. de Fontenelle next year, lord Chesterfield likewise sent from Bath the following short account, to be inserted in the same paper. The two nations were then at war with each other. "Letters by this day's Flanders mail bring advice, that on the 9th instant, died at Paris, aged 99 years, 11 months, and 12 days, Mr. Bernard le Bouvier de Fontenelle, dean [*doyen* in French means the oldest member] of the French academy, and of the royal academies of *belles-lettres* and of sciences, a member of the royal society of London, and of the royal academy at Berlin. The high reputation he has justly acquired by his writings renders any encomium superfluous."

LIV.

Lettre de mylord CHESTERFIELD à Mr. de BOUGAINVILLE*, lue
à l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, le mardi 17
Juin, 1755.

Monsieur,

JE fus également étonné et flatté quand monsieur votre frère me
dit de votre part qu'il ne tiendrait qu'à moi d'être agrégé au
corps le plus respectable et le plus respecté de l'Europe. Ebloui d'a-
bord par l'éclat d'un objet si flatteur, et séduit par les illusions de
l'amour-propre, je me livrai à une si douce idée : j'aspirois déjà à cet
honneur, sans songer seulement si j'en étois digne. Mais la ré-
flexion suivit, et la pudeur me retint. Je m'examinai soigneuse-
ment, dans l'espérance de trouver quelques droits un peu spécieux,
ou du moins quelques prétentions, qui pussent en quelque façon
justifier votre prévention en ma faveur ; mais hélas ! monsieur, cette
recherche m'a été bien humiliante ; j'ai trouvé que ma jeunesse, pro-
diguée dans la dissipation et les plaisirs, m'avoit à peine permis de
penser seulement aux sciences, et que mon âge plus avancé, occupé
entièrement par les affaires, ne m'avoit pas accordé le loisir de les
cultiver. Les sciences demandent non-seulement toute la vie, mais
encore bien plus que toute la vie de l'homme. La bienfaisance
souffrira-t-elle donc qu'un sexagénaire se présente pour y commencer
son noviciat ? sur-tout privé comme il l'est par l'éloignement des
occasions de profiter des instructions, et de se former sur les modèles
des illustres membres d'un si illustre corps. Que dois-je donc faire
dans ces circonstances ? Il ne me paroît pas permis de postuler un
honneur que je mérite si peu, mais en même tems j'avoue qu'il m'est
impossible de ne le pas ardemment desirer. Je m'en remets à vous
entièrement ; les intérêts de l'académie doivent vous être chers ; elle

* Secretary to the academy, and brother to the gentleman who has made himself so conspi-
cuous by several navigations, and especially his voyage about the world.

a reconnu

LIV.

A letter from the earl of CHESTERFIELD to Mr. de BOUGAINVILLE, read in the academy of inscriptions and belles-lettres, on tuesday, June 17, 1755.

SIR,

I was both astonished and flattered when your brother told me I might, if I chose it, be admitted into the most respectable and most respected society in Europe. Dazzled at first sight with so flattering an object, and led away by the delusions of self-love, I gave myself up to the pleasing idea. I already aspired after the honor, without once considering whether I was qualified for it. Reflection followed, and modesty restrained me. I carefully examined myself, in hopes of finding some specious claims, or at least some pretence, that might in some measure justify your good opinion of me; but alas! Sir, that inquiry has been very mortifying to me. I found that my younger years had been wasted in dissipation and pleasure, which scarce allowed me time so much as to think of the sciences; and that, my riper years having been wholly devoted to business, I had never been at leisure to cultivate them. The study of the sciences would require the whole, and more than the whole, of a man's life; would it then be consistent with decency to enter upon it at threescore? especially at this distance, where I can have no opportunity of improving by the instructions and example of the learned members of that illustrious body. So circumstanced, I am at a loss what to do. I think I ought not to solicit an honor for which I am so unqualified; and yet, I must confess, I cannot help ardently wishing for it. I leave it entirely to you. The interests of the

a reconnu et distingué votre mérite ; je ne dois pas supposer que vous vouliez les trahir en considération du zèle et de l'estime avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

(Signé,)

CHESTERFIELD.

LV.

Lettre de remerciement de mylord CHESTERFIELD, reçu au nombre des académiciens libres étrangers, lue dans la séance du vendredi 8 Août 1755.

MESSIEURS,

ON se trouve naturellement préparé aux honneurs et aux disgraces, lorsqu'on sent qu'on en est digne ; mais lorsque, sans les mériter, ou sans avoir pu les attendre, on se voit élevé aux uns, ou exposé aux autres, leur effet est un sentiment confus qui ne peut s'exprimer ; il étourdit l'ame, et étouffe également la voix de la reconnaissance ou de la plainte.

Ce sentiment, messieurs, vous me le faites éprouver. L'affociation que m'accorde une des plus illustres académies de l'Europe, m'étonne et me confond. Quels furent les motifs de votre choix ? Je les cherche, et les trouve aussi peu que des expressions proportionnées à ma reconnaissance.

L'amour-propre me prête-t-il ses illusions ? Elles ne sauroient me faire oublier le degré de mérite qui pourroit justifier votre préférence, ni m'empêcher de craindre que ce choix ne paroisse votre première erreur. A quel principe un étranger que la mer, moins encore que les talens qui vous distinguent, a séparé de vous, pourroit-il

society must be dear to you, who have been so eminently distinguished by it. I am not to suppose you would betray them, in return for the regard and esteem with which I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed,)

CHESTERFIELD

LV.

A letter of thanks from the earl of CHESTERFIELD, on his being admitted a free foreign member of the academy; read at the meeting, on friday August 8, 1755.

GENTLEMEN,

THE mind is naturally prepared for honors or mortifications, from a consciousness of its own deserts; but when a man is undeservedly or unexpectedly raised to the one, or exposed to the other, the effect is a confused sensation, not to be expressed, which at once stuns the soul, and takes away all power of utterance, whether of gratitude or complaint.

This sensation, gentlemen, is what I now experience. The honor of being associated to one of the most illustrious academies in Europe, amazes and confounds me. I am equally at a loss to account for the motives of your choice, and to find expressions adequate to my gratitude.

In vain have I recourse to the deceits of self-love. They can never make me forget the degree of merit which might justify your preference, nor prevent my fears that this may be thought to be the first error you have ever been guilty of. To what principle is it reducible, that you should confer such an honor on a foreigner,
who

roit-il devoir un tel honneur ? Seroit-ce à cette politesse si naturelle à votre nation, qui se manifeste, ou plutôt qui se répand sur toutes les autres ? Non, messieurs, l'éloignement m'a été favorable. La renommée, cette messagère qui toujours manque d'exactitude, et souvent de fidélité, qui grossit également tous les objets, et qui semble acquérir des forces à proportion du chemin qu'elle parcourt, aura transformé en connoissance, mon amour pour les belles-lettres, et disposés comme vous l'êtes à l'indulgence, sans doute vous l'en avez trop crue.

Les premières années de la vie décident de nos goûts. J'ai dû les miens à la teinture que je reçus alors de ces connoissances aimables qui relèvent tous les états, et qui embellissent tous les âges. Mon cœur les chérit & les respecte, mais j'eus le malheur de ne pouvoir suffisamment les cultiver. Trop dissipé dans ma jeunesse, entraîné, dans l'âge mûr, par le torrent des affaires publiques, j'ai vu s'écouler, avec trop de rapidité, un tems que les lettres auroient mieux rempli. Mon zèle fut tout ce que je pus leur donner, et ce zèle fut vif. Pourquoi me vois-je obligé de reconnoître que les autels qu'il lui éleva furent, peut-être, à l'exemple de celui d'Athènes, consacré *à la divinité inconnue* ?

Revenu, quoique trop tard, à moi-même, je cherche dans les lettres des ressources pour l'âge, des agrémens pour la retraite. Vos mémoires me les fournissent ; j'y puise des instructions et des plaisirs ; j'y trouve le génie et les ouvrages de la belle antiquité arrachés de l'oubli, développés, mis à ma portée, et je ne crains point d'ajouter, égaux par les vôtres.

Les jours les plus brillans des sociétés littéraires sont ordinairement devancés par une foible aurore ; mais votre enfance fut celle d'un corps qui sent ce qu'il doit être un jour. C'étoit l'enfance d'Hercule. Dans le tems que l'académie sembloit ne s'occuper que du soin de donner l'immortalité au grand monarque qui lui donnoit l'existence, elle étendoit toujours ses vues, et préparoit ses travaux. Elle jettoit ses regards sur les siècles passés, et s'annonçoit aux siècles futurs, comme chargée du dépôt des grandes actions, et des modèles du goût. Une heureuse fécondité multiplia en si peu d'années les génies et les talens,

who is separated from you, not only by the sea, but still more so by the want of those talents that so eminently distinguish you? Is it owing to the natural politeness of your nation, which manifests itself to, or rather diffuses itself over, all others? No, gentlemen; distance of place has been favourable to me. Fame, that messenger, who never keeps within the bounds of strict truth, who magnifies every object, and seems to gather strength in proportion to the space she measures, has doubtless transformed my love of literature into actual knowledge, and your propensity to indulgence has inclined you to believe her.

Our taste is formed in the early years of our life. I owed mine to the tincture I then received of those pleasing attainments, which adorn every station, and embellish every period of life. From my heart I both loved and honored them, but it was my misfortune to want opportunities for making a sufficient progress in them. Too much addicted to pleasure in my younger years, and hurried away, in riper age, by the torrent of public affairs, that time has glided away too swiftly, which would have been better employed in literary improvements. All I could do was to be a well-wisher to them, and I have been a warm one. Why am I compelled to confess that the altars I have raised to literature were in some measure, like that of Athens, dedicated *to the unknown God!*

Restored to myself, though late, I seek in these studies a resource for old age, and a rational amusement for retirement. These I find in your memoirs, which afford me both instruction and pleasure. There the genius and the works of antiquity are rescued from oblivion, explained, and brought within my reach, and, I will venture to add, emulated by your own.

The brightest days of literary societies are preceded by a faint dawn, but your infancy was that of a body that feels what it is one day to be. It was the infancy of Hercules. At a time when the academy seemed wholly intent upon conferring immortality on the great monarch who had given it being, she was extending her views, and preparing her labors. She took a retrospective survey of past ages, and stood forth to future ages as a repository for great actions, and a model of taste. So successful was this institution in promot-

talens, que bientôt il devint plus difficile de limiter le nombre des places que de les bien remplir.

Mais à présent que mon nom va paroître sur votre liste, n'y a-t-il pas lieu de craindre une révolution peu avantageuse ; et n'autorisez-vous pas, en me faisant entrer dans votre corps, les plaintes qu'on fait que notre siècle dégénère ? Ces plaintes, messieurs, sont le lieu commun de l'orgueil, de l'envie, et de la malignité ; le cœur humain s'y livre avec complaisance ; il est plus facile pour lui de pardonner une supériorité passée, et perdue dans l'éloignement, que de souffrir un mérite contemporain, et si j'ose hasarder ce mot, contigu. On pourra blâmer votre choix, mais on ne l'attribuera jamais à la nécessité. Trop de favans illustres, formés à votre modèle dans votre propre patrie, démentiroient un tel soupçon. On dira simplement que, ne pouvant recevoir un nouveau lustre, vous avez daigné me communiquer une partie du vôtre.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

(Signé,)

CHESTERFIELD.

A Londres, ce 31 Juillet, 1755.

ing genius and talents, that in a very few years, it was more difficult to limit the number of places than to fill them properly.

But now that my name is to appear in your list, have we not room to be apprehensive of an unfavourable revolution? and, by admitting me into your society, do you not authorize the complaints that are made concerning the degeneracy of the times? These complaints, gentlemen, are the common-place of pride, envy and ill-nature; the human heart indulges them with a secret complacency. It is easier to forgive a past and remote superiority, than to endure cotemporary, and, if I may be allowed the expression, contiguous merit. Your choice may be blamed, but will never be imputed to necessity. Such a suspicion would be contradicted by too many eminent men, formed upon your model in your own country. It will only be said that, as you can receive no additional lustre, you have condescended to reflect some part of yours upon me.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed),

CHESTERFIELD.

London, July 31, 1755.

LVI.

Preface to Love Elegies, by WILLIAM HAMMOND Esquire,
published in 1742 (a).

THE following elegies were wrote by a young gentleman lately dead, and justly lamented.

As he had never declared his intentions concerning their publication, a friend of his, into whose hands they fell, determined to publish them, in the persuasion that they would neither be unwelcome to the public, nor injurious to the memory of their author. The reader must decide, whether this determination was the result of just judgment or partial friendship, for the editor feels, and avows so much of the latter, that he gives up all pretensions to the former.

The author composed them ten years ago, before he was two-and-twenty years old; an age, when fancy and imagination commonly riot, at the expence of judgment and correctness, neither of which seem wanting here. But, sincere in his love as in his friendship, he wrote to his mistresses, as he spoke to his friends, nothing but the true genuine sentiments of his heart; he fate down to write what he thought, not to think what he should write; it was nature and sentiment only that dictated to a real mistress, not youthful and poetic fancy, to an imaginary one. Elegy therefore speaks here her own, proper, native language, the unaffected plaintive language of the tender passions; the true elegiac dignity and simplicity are preserved, and united; the one without pride, the other without meanness. Tibullus seems to have been the model our author judiciously preferred to Ovid; the former writing

(a) See Memoirs of lord Chesterfield under that year. This preface, which fell from his pen, is a noble monument of his feelings, his taste, and the love which he bore to his country; a sentiment as distant from modern patriotism, as those that usurp that qualification are from the noble author.

directly

directly from the heart, to the heart; the latter too often yielding and addressing himself to the imagination.

The undissipated youth of the author, allowed him time to apply himself to the best masters, the antients, and his parts enabled him to make the best use of them; for upon those great models of solid sense and virtue, he formed not only his genius, but his heart, both well prepared by nature to adopt, and adorn the resemblance. He admired that justness, that noble simplicity of thought, and expression, which have distinguished and preserved their writings to this day; but he revered that love of their country, that contempt of riches, that sacredness of friendship, and all those heroic and social virtues, which marked them out as the objects of the veneration, though not the imitation of succeeding ages; and he looked back with a kind of religious awe and delight, upon those glorious and happy times of Greece and Rome, when wisdom, virtue and liberty formed the only triumvirates, ere luxury invited corruption to taint, or corruption introduced slavery to destroy, all public and private virtues. In these sentiments he lived, and would have lived even in these times: in these sentiments he died—but in these times too—*Ut non erepta à diis immortalibus vita, sed donata mors esse videatur.*

LVII.

The Character of RICHARD, Earl of Scarborough, August 29, 1759*.

IN drawing the character of lord Scarborough, I will be strictly upon my guard against the partiality of that intimate and unre-served friendship, in which we lived for more than twenty years ; to which friendship, as well as to the public notoriety of it, I owe much more than my pride will let my gratitude own. If this may be suspected to have biaſſed my judgment, it muſt, at the ſame time, be allowed to have informed it ; for the moſt ſecret move-ments of his ſoul were, without diſguiſe, communicated to me only. However, I will rather lower than heighten the colouring ; I will mark the ſhades, and draw a credible rather than an exact likenefs.

He had a very good perſon, rather above the middle ſize ; a handſome face, and when he was chearful, the moſt engaging coun-tenance imaginable ; when grave, which he was ofteneſt, the moſt reſpectable one. He had in the higheſt degree the air, manners and addreſs of a man of quality, politeneſs with eaſe, and dignity without pride.

Bred in camps and courts, it cannot be ſuppoſed that he was untainted with the fashionable vices of theſe warm climates ; but (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) he dignified them, inſtead of their degrading him into any mean or indecent action. He had a good degree of claſſical, and a great one of modern, knowledge ; with a juſt, and, at the ſame time, a delicate taſte.

* I received this piece from lady Cheſterfield. Indeed it wants no marks of authenticity. The noble author's mind and heart are painted in it in the liveliſt manner ; and he who can read it without ſharing his feelings muſt have a ſoul very different from his.

In his common expences he was liberal within bounds ; but in his charities and bounties he had none. I have known them put him to some present inconveniencies.

He was a strong, but not an eloquent or florid speaker in parliament. He spoke so unaffectedly the honest dictates of his heart, that truth and virtue, which never want, and seldom wear, ornaments, seemed only to borrow his voice. This gave such an astonishing weight to all he said, that he more than once carried an unwilling majority after him. Such is the authority of unsuspected virtue, that it will sometimes shame vice into decency at least.

He was not only offered, but pressed to accept, the post of secretary of state ; but he constantly refused it. I once tried to persuade him to accept it ; but he told me, that both the natural warmth and melancholy of his temper made him unfit for it ; and that moreover he knew very well that, in those ministerial employments, the course of business made it necessary to do many hard things, and some unjust ones, which could only be authorised by the jesuitical casuistry of the direction of the intention ; a doctrine which he said he could not possibly adopt. Whether he was the first that ever made that objection, I cannot affirm ; but I suspect that he will be the last.

He was a true constitutional, and yet practicable patriot ; a sincere lover and a zealous asserter of the natural, the civil, and the religious rights of his country. But he would not quarrel with the crown, for some slight stretches of the prerogative ; nor with the people, for some unwary ebullitions of liberty ; nor with any one, for a difference of opinion in speculative points. He considered the constitution in the aggregate, and only watched that no one part of it should preponderate too much.

His moral character was so pure, that if one may say of that imperfect creature man, what a celebrated historian says of Scipio, *nil non laudandum aut dixit, aut fecit, aut sensit*, I sincerely think, (I had almost said I know) one might say it with great truth of him, one single instance excepted, which shall be mentioned.

He

He joined to the noblest and strictest principles of honor and generosity the tenderest sentiments of benevolence and compassion; and as he was naturally warm, he could not even hear of an injustice or a baseness, without a sudden indignation, nor of the misfortunes or miseries of a fellow creature, without melting into softness, and endeavouring to relieve them. This part of his character was so universally known, that our best and most satyrical English poet says;

When I confess, there is who feels for fame,
And melts to goodness, Scarb'rough need I name?

He had not the least pride of birth and rank, that common narrow notion of little minds, that wretched mistaken succedaneum of merit; but he was jealous to anxiety of his character, as all men are who deserve a good one. And such was his diffidence upon that subject, that he never could be persuaded that mankind really thought of him as they did. For surely never man had a higher reputation, and never man enjoyed a more universal esteem. Even knaves respected him; and fools thought they loved him. If he had any enemies (for I protest I never knew one), they could only be such as were weary of always hearing of Aristides the Just.

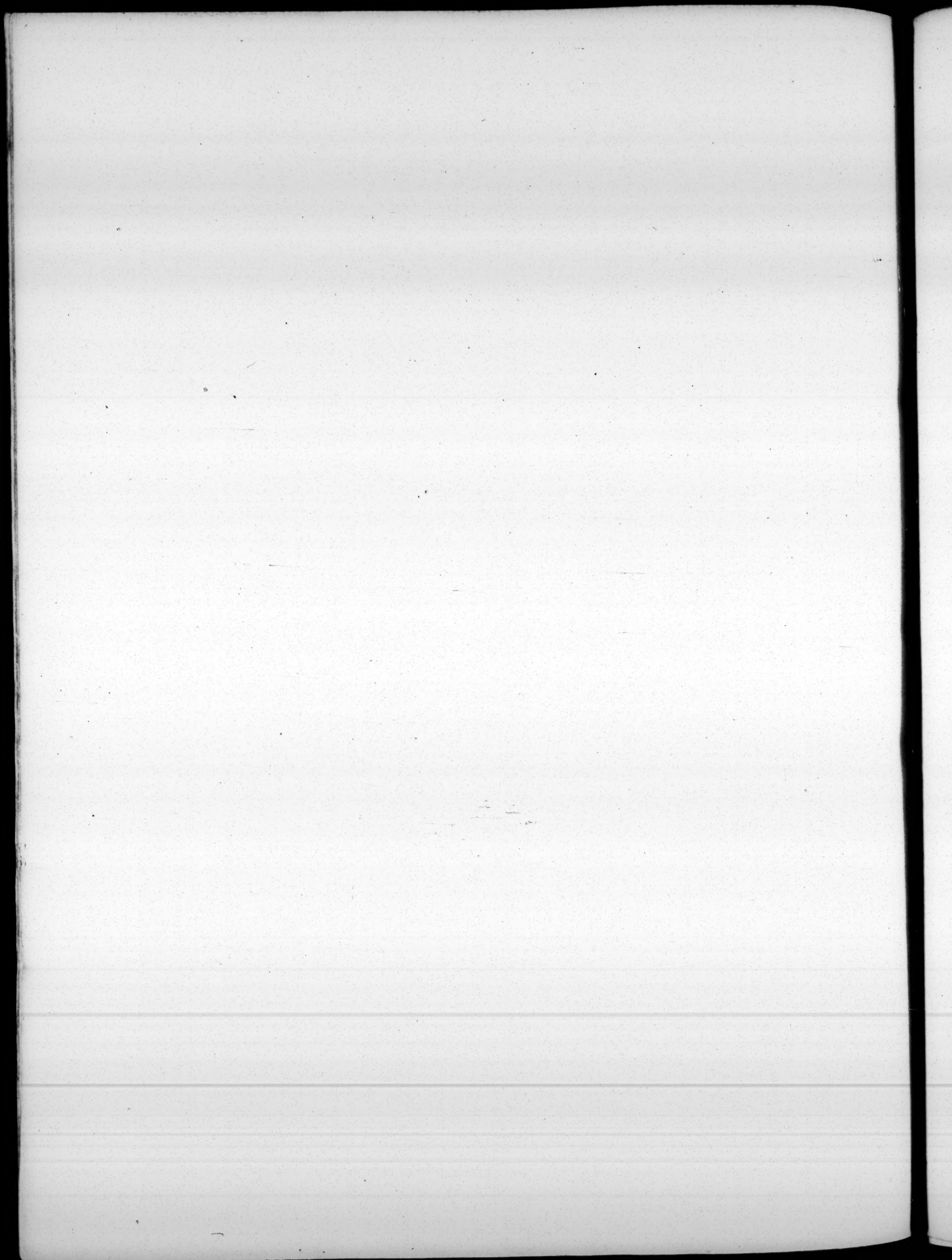
He was too subject to sudden gusts of passion, but they never hurried him into any illiberal or indecent expression or action; so invincibly habitual to him were good-nature and good-manners. But, if ever any word happened to fall from him in warmth, which upon subsequent reflection he himself thought too strong, he was never easy till he had made more than a sufficient atonement for it.

He had a most unfortunate, I will call it a most fatal kind of melancholy in his nature, which often made him both absent and silent in company, but never morose or sour. At other times he was a chearful and agreeable companion; but, conscious that he was not always so, he avoided company too much, and was too often alone, giving way to a train of gloomy reflexions.

His constitution, which was never robust, broke rapidly at the latter end of his life. He had two severe strokes of apoplexy or palsy, which considerably affected his body and his mind.

I desire that this may not be looked upon as a full and finished character, writ for the sake of writing it ; but as my solemn deposit of the truth to the best of my knowledge. I owed this small tribute of justice, such as it is, to the memory of the best man I ever knew, and of the dearest friend I ever had.

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